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# HISTORY

OF THE

## PHILADELPHIA BRIGADE.

SIXTY-NINTH, SEVENTY-FIRST, SEVENTY-SECOND,  
AND ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH PENN-  
SYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS.

BY

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LATE BREVET LIEUTENANT-COLONEL AND ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL  
VOLUNTEERS.

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PHILADELPHIA:  
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.  
1876.

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## P R E F A C E.

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IN the preparation of this History, the author has had access to official documents, as well as journals and reports in the possession of members of the Brigade. In order to more fully illustrate the operations of the command, brief accounts of army movements have been introduced. For much of this general information, the writer is indebted to "Swinton's Army of the Potomac," the "Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War," and unpublished reports on file in the War Department, which he has been permitted to examine. He has attempted to give a connected history of the command from its formation until its regiments were mustered out, and in doing so he has endeavored to confine his work to a simple narrative of its toils and conflicts, without any flattery of regiments or officers, and without any attempt at criticising the operations of the army.

With the exception of two or three companies formed in the interior of Pennsylvania, the four regiments of the Brigade were composed chiefly of volunteers from the city of Philadelphia, and for that reason might properly

be called the Philadelphia Brigade. It consisted of the Sixty-Ninth, Seventy-First, Seventy-Second, and One Hundred and Sixth Regiments of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and was designated the Second Brigade of the Second Division, Second Corps, Army of the Potomac. The command had, from the first enrollment until the muster out, three hundred and fifty field, staff, and line officers, and over six thousand non-commissioned officers and privates. The officers and men of the regiments were equal in courage, endurance, and discipline to the best commands of the army, and their soldierly bearing on the march and in battle helped to make the history of the Army of the Potomac.

To his surviving comrades this volume is respectfully offered, in the belief that the old scenes revived in these pages will cause increased respect for the memories of those who have fallen, renewed sympathy and regard for the true men who survive, and, above all, an abiding appreciation of the birthright for which the battles were fought.

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# HISTORY

OF

## THE PHILADELPHIA BRIGADE.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE FORMATION.

EDWARD D. BAKER, a member of the United States Senate, and a soldier of high spirit, full of patriotism and military ardor, was the father of the Philadelphia Brigade. He was born in England about the year 1800, and came to this country when very young in life, finding a home in Philadelphia. He had been in the city but a few years when, by the death of his father, he was thrown entirely upon his own resources to support himself and a younger brother. His force of character and self-reliance enabled him to cheerfully undertake the task, and he speedily found work for both in one of the mills in the lower part of the city. At the age of twenty-one, his restless spirit and his ambition for greater success led him to start with his younger brother, carrying their entire worldly possessions on their backs,

for the great West, the land of hope at that time, if not now, for young men having as their only capital for investment strong arms, stout hearts, and honest aspirations.

They settled first in Springfield, Illinois, where Edward commenced the study, and afterwards the practice, of law, and having fine natural gifts improved by close attention to his profession and extensive reading, he soon reached a high position at the bar. In the year 1846 he was elected from his district to Congress, where he bid fair to become one of the leaders of the House. When the Mexican War broke out he at once returned to Illinois and raised a regiment of volunteers, with which he joined General Scott's army on its march to the city of Mexico. After the battle of Cerro Gordo he was placed in command of a brigade, which he led during the rest of the war with distinguished credit. When the Mexican War was ended he was again elected to Congress, and served another term. In 1851 he transferred his residence to San Francisco, where he speedily became one of its most prominent lawyers. Baker soon changed his residence again, locating this time in Oregon, from which he was elected in 1860 to the United States Senate.

The spirit that aroused the men of the North on the taking of Fort Sumter, found an enthusiastic response in the breast of Edward D. Baker; and in one of his last public addresses delivered in New York just before he commenced to raise the Philadelphia Brigade (then called the California Regiments), he uttered these eloquent and prophetic words: "And if from the far Pacific a voice feebler than the feeblest murmur upon

its shore may be heard to give you courage and hope in the contest, that voice is yours to-day; and if a man whose hair is gray, who is well-nigh worn out in the battle and toil of life, may pledge himself on such an occasion and in such an audience, let me say as my last word, that when, amid sheeted fire and flame, I saw and led the hosts of New York as they charged upon a foreign soil for the honor of your flag, so again, if Providence shall will it, this feeble hand shall draw a sword never yet dishonored—not to fight for distant honor in a foreign land, but to fight for country, for home, for law, for government, for constitution, for right, for freedom, for humanity, and in the hope that the banner of my country may advance, and wheresoever that banner waves there glory may follow and freedom be established.”

Colonel Baker was especially commissioned by President Lincoln to raise the Seventy-First Pennsylvania Regiment, or, as it was called at the muster, the First California Regiment, and recruiting was commenced in the early part of April, 1861, at Philadelphia. It was among the first of the three-year troops that were enlisted, and the work of enrolling was under the immediate charge of Colonel Isaac J. Wistar, of Philadelphia, who had commanded Indian Rangers in California and Oregon in 1850, and who had had considerable experience in the warfare incidental to the early settlements of the Pacific coast.

In a few weeks over one thousand men were enlisted, and were sent by detachments to report to the regimental headquarters established in New York city, where they were mustered into the service, and organized by the

choice of the following as field-officers: Edward D. Baker, Colonel; Isaac J. Wistar, Lieutenant-Colonel; R. A. Parrish, Major. The regiment had not been recognized by either Pennsylvania or New York, and was treated as belonging to the regular army, its returns being made accordingly.

Until the last of June it was engaged in drilling and completing its organization in the vicinity of New York,—part of the time at Fort Schuyler. On the 1st of July it was ordered to Fortress Monroe *via* Philadelphia; and as it passed in column through the streets of the city, it reflected the greatest credit on its officers, and elicited the heartiest applause from the citizens who crowded the line of march, and who, in spite of the rebel gray uniform and the regimental name of a far-off sister State, recognized in the regiment marching towards the South—in every step giving evidence of its fine drill and discipline—hundreds of the young men of the Quaker City. Upon its arrival at Fortress Monroe it was assigned to duty, picketing and scouting on the Peninsula; its tour of duty extending to the vicinity of Big Bethel.

The regiment remained at Fortress Monroe until after the first battle of Bull Run, when it was transferred to the south bank of the Potomac, opposite Washington, and engaged, along with other commands, in building Fort Ethan Allen, near Chain Bridge, and in strengthening the defenses of the capital.

The Seventy-Second Pennsylvania, known in its earlier history as the Philadelphia Fire Zouaves, was the second regiment of Baker's Brigade to leave Philadelphia. Recruiting was commenced on the 3d of August, 1861, and

in one week its ranks were full. A regimental organization was effected by the choice of the following officers: DeWitt Clinton Baxter, of Philadelphia, Colonel; Theodore Hesser, of Philadelphia, Lieutenant-Colonel; James M. DeWitt, of the Chicago Zouaves, Major.

Colonel Baxter had served as lieutenant-colonel of the Nineteenth Regiment of three-months' men, and was noted for his knowledge of the drill and tactics of the school of the soldier. The regiment had two flank or skirmish companies, that had been thoroughly instructed in the peculiar bayonet exercise and evolutions of the Chicago Zouaves; this drill proved subsequently of very little value in the woods of Virginia, or under the fire of the long-range rifles, and was speedily looked upon by the men, in the rapid development of their military experience, as a pleasant sort of gymnastics. The "fancy drill"—as it was termed by the soldiers—enjoyed for a brief period considerable popularity; so much so, that the citizens of Philadelphia crowded the Academy of Music to witness the manœuvres of one of Baxter's companies before its departure.

The Fire Zouaves contained representatives from almost every fire company in the city of Philadelphia. Rival organizations, that had fought for the "first stream" or the "best plug" at the fire in the exciting days of the volunteer department, buried their animosities, and united against one common foe. The uniform of the men was of a description calculated at first sight to please the eye of one who looked more at the picturesque than at the serviceable, although it was far from being as showy and foreign as that of the New York Zouaves. It consisted of light-blue pants, cut wide, with red stripes

at the side; a cut-away jacket, with rows of bright bell buttons, only one of which was for use,—that next the throat; a shirt of some bright color, not unfrequently having the letter of the company embroidered on the bosom; regulation cap; and white leggings, confining the bottom of the pants. The jacket was well adapted to keep the throat warm in summer, and to expose the vital parts of the body to the blasts of winter, and by the utter absence of any convenient location for pockets it deprived the men of a safe hiding-place for many a little luxury, while it furnished nothing to carry extra ammunition. The white leggings, when worn at night or on the skirmish line, were dangerously conspicuous, and gave poor compensation for their only advantage,—the protection of the feet from the dust while on the march. Early in the war, and before the men were thoroughly disciplined, when the route lay through a muddy country, the soldiers, in their endeavors to protect their handsome white leggings from being soiled, would spread over a wide space to keep the solid ground. On one such occasion, a general officer rode up to the colonel commanding and suggested that he should “take his armed mob out of the way, and let the troops pass by.” As uniforms wore out and were replaced, the old portions were frequently given to the camp followers and officers’ servants, and, as they were to be found in all parts of the column, it sometimes appeared as if Baxter’s men were represented everywhere. It was no small satisfaction to both officers and men that, after a few months’ experience, the zouave uniform was discarded for the regulation dress.

The regiment was formed at Camp Lyon, in West

Philadelphia, and spent the time until its departure in equipping the companies and drilling the men. On the afternoon of Sunday, September 15th, an order was received from Colonel Baker to break camp and start at once for Washington. The order was promptly obeyed, and those men who were absent visiting their friends in the city were notified through the ringing of fire-alarm bells. At an early hour of the same evening the command left Camp Lyon, and marched through the city to the Volunteer Refreshment Saloon at Prime Street Wharf, and, after a collation, took passage on the Baltimore cars. The demonstrations along the route of the column, on the part of the fire department and citizens, were of the most enthusiastic character. Bonfires were lighted, fire-bells were rung, and as McGonigle and the men of the "Weccacoe," Peto and the "Hope Hose Boys," Captain Cook with members of the "Hibernia," and many other officers and men were recognized from the sidewalks, cheers and hearty good-byes from friends and old comrades filled the air.

After reaching Washington, the regiment was ordered to the Virginia side of the Potomac near Chain Bridge, where it was placed on fatigue duty with the California Regiment, on the fortifications.

On the date of the mustering of Colonel Baxter's command, the Twenty-Fourth Regiment of three-months' men, commanded by Colonel Joshua T. Owen, was mustered out. The regiment had served under General Patterson on the Upper Potomac, in the Shenandoah Valley.

Colonel Owen—subsequently made a brigadier-general for distinguished service in the field—was well cal-

culated by his generous and genial spirit in camp and his bearing in action to gather speedily about him a regiment for the new call of the President for three years, and many of his old command at once signified their willingness to re-enlist. A camp of rendezvous was established at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, and the work of filling the companies commenced. With the exception of a few recruits from the mining districts of Pennsylvania, the men were residents of Philadelphia, and mostly of Irish extraction, possessing the soldierly qualities of their race, calculated to endure the hardships and privations of the march by their robust habits, and by their enthusiastic and courageous dispositions well fitted for effective service in the charge. This last characteristic was manifested in a number of actions, and the *sobriquet* "Paddy Owen's Riglars," at first applied by their comrades in good-natured jests, was made honorable by more than one steady advance with bayonets fixed.

The companies were mustered into the service of the United States on the 19th of August by Colonel E. D. Baker, and the regiment was organized by the choice of the following field-officers: Joshua T. Owen, of Philadelphia, Colonel; Dennis O'Kane, of Philadelphia, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Devereux, of Philadelphia, Major. The men were shortly after armed and equipped.

On the 17th of September the regiment was summoned to Washington by a telegram from the Secretary of War. It broke camp and moved at once. Upon its arrival at Washington it was ordered to cross the Potomac and join Colonel Baker's command at Fort Ethan Allen. At this place it was reinforced by two skirmish companies that had been acting as independent com-



mands under the name of the Baker Guards. These two organizations wore a uniform somewhat similar to that of the Fire Zouaves, except in the color of the trimmings, green having been substituted for the scarlet of Baxter's men. This force raised the regiment to twelve companies. The Sixty-Ninth, in addition to their State flags, carried, as emblematic of their nationality, a handsome green flag with the arms of Ireland, presented by the citizens of Philadelphia; and in many an action these standards went in together and honorably came out side by side.

Colonel Turner G. Morehead, a prominent and exceedingly capable officer of the Pennsylvania militia, and the commander of the Twenty-Second Regiment of three-months' men, was mustered out of service with his regiment on the 7th of August, 1861. He at once commenced recruiting a regiment for Baker's Brigade. In this work he was assisted by Lieutenant-Colonel Curry and Captain J. J. Sperry, as well as by many of the officers and men of the Twenty-Second, who were anxious again to risk their lives for the preservation of the Union. The regiment was organized, with the exception of Company K, between the 14th of August and the 31st of September, 1861, in the city of Philadelphia. Company K was formed from a number of men enlisted as sappers and miners under the charge of Lieutenants Fimple and W. L. Curry, and its organization was completed by the transfer of Captain Martin Frost and twenty men from the Sixty-Ninth. Its completion took place on the 28th of February, 1862, when it was mustered into the One Hundred and Sixth Regiment as an infantry company.

This organization, known at first as the Fifth California Regiment, but subsequently as the One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers, joined the Philadelphia Brigade at Camp Observation, near Poolesville, Maryland. With the exception of one or two fine companies from the interior of Pennsylvania, it was composed mostly of Philadelphians, and although it did not have the *éclat* in its formation belonging to either of the other regiments of the brigade, it was their equal in *morale* and discipline. Most of the regimental and company officers were familiar with the duties of the soldier, and seemed to take a proper interest in the development of a high standard of excellence in their commands.

## CHAPTER II.

### CHAIN BRIDGE.

FROM the time of their arrival until the end of September, the regiments were kept actively at work on picket and fatigue duty near Chain Bridge, and the men began to realize some of the discomforts incidental to a change from the pleasant homes of the city to tent-life on the rough hill-sides of Virginia.

Employed as they were, but little attention could be given to the instructions of officers, or to the drill and discipline of the men. There were occasional company drills, and in one instance Colonel Baker attempted to manœuvre the brigade, but the rough character of the ground, from which in many places trees had just been cut, hindered any profitable exercise. Picketing and scouting were of daily occurrence, and to the California Regiment particularly hazardous, their uniforms being gray, like those of the Confederates. Among the killed while in this service was Captain James W. Lingenfelter, of Company B, Seventy-First Regiment, who was shot September 21st. He was one of the officers who had come from the Pacific coast to serve with Colonel Baker.

The proximity of the rebel line to the camps of the brigade caused the men to feel that they were in a hos-

tile country, and assisted them materially in learning the duties and habits of the picket. The last arrivals looked upon the California men, with their soiled uniforms, as comparative veterans, and were willing listeners to their relation of incidents in the campaign at Fortress Monroe and in the vicinity of Big Bethel.

Until the troops learned to distinguish between the false and the true reports, Madam Rumor played some strange pranks in the camp, and it was amusing to see with what singular rapidity false reports would spread, and as quickly die away. At one time the enemy would be moving on Fort Baker, and the next day report had the brigade ordered to Missouri.

The life of a soldier is one calculated to sharpen the perceptive faculties, and it was but a short time before the men became very skeptical in their reception of camp news, and even learned to make a fine distinction as to the shades of difference between the reports. Rumors that had no foundation except in the imagination, and which were often started while the company's cooks were serving out the rations, were styled "cook-house news," whilst the flying camp reports that might contain a few grains of truth were called "chin-chin;" and it was frequently asked, when a report had gained extensive circulation, to which class it belonged: if it was "chin" it was deemed more trustworthy than "cook-house."

In the composition of the regiments all classes of society, as well as trades and professions, were represented, and there were no duties that soldiers might be called upon to perform that did not find men ready to step forward fully prepared for the work, even though

it should be the reading of a telegraphic "sounder," or the artistic handling of intrenching tools in the ditch. The "eternal fitness of things" could not always be preserved, and occasionally a young man bred to the law found himself in a detail at work in the trenches under a non-commissioned officer who knew more about the spade than the pen.

The majority of the men seemed to take to camp life with good nature, and gradually learned to place the proper estimate of value on their comrades, and the officers began to realize that duty to themselves and to those under their charge brought no inconsiderable responsibility.

With every day came some new developments of character; men were learning to read those about them, and officers were acquiring a better knowledge of the material of their commands. On one occasion in a ludicrous experience, an officer realized that there might be in the rank and file of his company men who knew more about the tactics of the soldier than he had yet learned from "Gilmore" or "Hardee." A special detail had been made for headquarters guard, and after the inspection and the men had been placed at their posts, the sergeant of the guard visited post number one, in front of the tent of the general commanding, to ascertain if the sentinel fully understood his duties. The man at once took the regulation position of "arms port," and listened carefully to the instructions for the guard, only replying in response to an inquiry "Whether he had ever served in that position before?" that he had, "But it was some years since, in front of General Scott's headquarters in the city of Mexico."

The same insurmountable difficulty—scarcity of supplies—that compelled the Government to issue gray uniforms, instead of blue, to the California Regiment interfered with the proper equipment of the brigade in arms and ammunition, and many of the guns dignified by the name of rifles were only flint-lock muskets, altered in such a careless manner that it was no unusual occurrence for a nipple to blow out with the discharge of the piece, to the great danger of the owner. Even with these weapons there was not enough to fully arm the entire brigade; and on one reconnoissance Company H, of Baxter's Regiment, was supplied with axes, and was detailed as a pioneer corps.

While at work in the trenches, on September 24th, the troops had an opportunity of witnessing one of the uses of balloons in modern warfare. Four miles distant from Fort Ethan Allen, at a station called Falls Church, the Confederates had a considerable body of men. The United States forces at Arlington Heights sent up a captive balloon, and by means of signals directed the battery at Fort Allen how to range its rifled cannon on the camp of the enemy. After a few trials shells were thrown with precision, and the Confederates were discomfited by an unexpected foe.

September 28th, at ten P.M., the brigade was ordered to march on a night expedition to Munson's Hill. In the columns were other commands that had been located near us, the whole of the force being in charge of General Wm. F. Smith. The Seventy-First Regiment, with two sections of artillery, had the right; then came the Seventy-Second, followed by the Sixty-Ninth. The night was dark, and the narrow road along which they

marched led for the most part through a dense forest. After advancing about three miles, carefully feeling the way with skirmishers, a halt was made, and directions were given to load, with strict orders to make no noise, not even to speak aloud, and the march was resumed. While all were wrought up to a pitch of excitement by these preparatory orders, an alarm was raised in a portion of the column, and the men supposing that the enemy was about to attack, and unable to distinguish in the darkness friend from foe, commenced an indiscriminate firing. Many of the soldiers left the road and took to the woods or fields, and acted as if their first duty was to discharge their rifles at some imaginary object. After a few moments, it occurred to most of the officers that there might be no good cause for the alarm, and the troops were ordered to cease firing and lie down. Where captains of companies acted with promptness, order was soon restored; several minutes elapsed, however, before the irregular fire entirely ceased. The actual cause of the false alarm, as it proved to be, was never ascertained. It was one of those stampedes that took place occasionally during the night-marches of the war, and which were not confined to new recruits or to either army. After the men were rallied, it was ascertained that the section of artillery on the right had actually been ordered at the first alarm to fire on the troops, but was prevented by the doubts in the mind of its commander.

A halt was now made, and skirmishers were thrown out, who, carefully advancing through woods in the front, halted when they saw what appeared to be a row of camp fires belonging to the enemy. At daybreak

the lights were found to be those of the Ninth Massachusetts, part of another column that had been moving on a parallel road. Thus ended this eventful night, full of errors and sorrows. The entire loss was seventeen men killed and thirty wounded. As this was the first time the brigade was under fire, it developed some new phases of character in both officers and men; but altogether the impression was not unfavorable for new troops.

On Sunday, 29th of September, the command was located in a field awaiting orders or the enemy, and at four P.M. was marched back to the old camp. Some of the columns engaged in this advance took Munson's Hill; but the Philadelphia Brigade felt that its share of work had more of disaster than glory.

One of the first duties of a soldier is to subordinate his will to that of his military superiors; to obey orders implicitly and ask no questions. Already this discipline was beginning to produce its proper effect; but there were some few who thought, aloud, that a midnight advance over unfamiliar ground by troops only a few days in the service, having line-officers with little, if any, experience, was no evidence of wisdom on the part of the general who gave the preliminary order.

September 30th, the brigade recrossed the Potomac and marched to Great Falls, in Maryland, a distance of nine miles, where it halted. October 1st, started at noon and reached Rockville by night. October 2d, marched to Seneca Mills,—part of the time through a heavy rain. The men by this time appeared to be well used to campaigning. October 3d, reached a point four miles



beyond Poolesville, Montgomery County, Maryland, where tents were pitched and Colonel Baker gave verbal orders that each company might use ten fence-rails for fuel, and no more, as the command would soon move forward.

## CHAPTER III.

### BALL'S BLUFF.

DAY after day passed, and the first allowance of fence-rails had been turned into ashes along with many others that had not been so formally set aside; still there was no sign of a movement. Relieved from the fatigue and picket duty that formed the routine at Chain Bridge, there was abundant opportunity for drill and equipment. Quartermasters of regiments were busied in procuring the completion of outfits, and officers were occupied in perfecting their companies. The regulation system of guard duties was strictly followed, including the "grand rounds" at night and the patrol outside the camp limits by day.

Colonel Baker personally exercised the officers in the manual of arms as well as in the school of the battalion, in both of which he displayed considerable knowledge and proficiency. A trifling incident occurred during one of the drills which served to illustrate an important trait in his military character,—promptness in obeying an order without stopping to consider either its necessity or the means for its accomplishment. At the time referred to, the officers were formed in line, drilling in the manual, and at the position of "arms at order"; when Colonel Baker gave the command, "support arms," omitting the

intermediate position of arms at a shoulder. Some obeyed the order by going regularly through the drill, from one position to another; others kept their pieces resting on the ground, and looked at their commander, with a smile at his error. Baker stood erect, looking the picture of determination, and said, with an emphasis not to be mistaken, "I want the officers to understand that when an order is given it must be obeyed."

While at this camp the command was designated the Third Brigade of the Corps of Observation, the division being under the command of General Charles P. Stone. A considerable number of recruits joined the command, and one regiment (Colonel Baxter's) contained fifteen companies, with an aggregate of fourteen hundred and eighty-seven men. This regiment had passed through the campaign thus far without any casualties. On the 17th of October the first death occurred in its ranks. On a dismal, rainy day, one of those calculated to bring into the minds of the soldiers thoughts of home, and mental pictures of more cheerful scenes, one of the enlisted men, who had been sick with a fever, died in the camp hospital. He had all the attention the surgeon could give him, but in his case, as in that of many others after him, "there was dearth of woman's care." This event, being the first of the kind, created considerable thoughtfulness, strangely at variance with the hardened feelings produced by after-experience on the battle-field.

October 21st, at one o'clock A.M., Colonel Baker, in command of the brigade, received an order from General Stone for the right battalion of the California Regiment, consisting of eight companies,—A, C, D, G, H, L, N, and F,—to march so as to reach Conrad's Ferry

by daylight. This order was put into execution by Lieutenant-Colonel Wistar, commanding the regiment. On his arrival at the ferry, he reported to General Stone and awaited instructions. While thus halting, he ascertained that our forces with two guns occupied Harrison's Island, and also that an expedition of about five hundred men under Colonel Devens of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, accompanied by Colonel Lee and one hundred men of the Twentieth Massachusetts, had crossed to the Virginia shore at an early hour, intending to advance towards Leesburg. Thinking it probable that the Seventy-First Battalion might be ordered to reinforce Devens, Colonel Wistar moved them nearer the river and began an inspection of the facilities for crossing. From the Maryland side to the island were two large scows, capable of holding about forty-five men each; from the island to the Virginia side there was a ferry-boat, larger than the scows, that would hold about sixty men; and, along with this, a small metallic life-boat. These means of transportation Wistar increased by the addition of a boat lifted out of its place in the canal, and run down the bank into the river, by the men of his regiment. This made it possible to ferry over at one time—all the boats being in use—about two hundred men. At about nine o'clock orders were received for the battalion to cross the river and join forces with Colonel Devens.

At this moment Colonel Baker arrived, and, ascertaining the orders received by Wistar, rode down to see General Stone. In a short time he returned, and, after dispatching an officer to order the remainder of the brigade under Colonel Baxter to move at once, personally superin-

tended the crossing, which had already commenced. By two P.M. six companies had been landed on the island, and one company had crossed to the Virginia shore. In the mean time, Colonel Baker had reached the island and taken the chief command, with full discretionary power to reinforce the party on the advance, or to withdraw all the forces to the Maryland side. The following order was found on the body of Colonel Baker after his death :

“HEADQUARTERS, CORPS OF” [here the bullet struck, and a word is missing] EDWARD'S FERRY, October 21st, 1861.

“COLONEL E. D. BAKER, Commander of Brigade :

“COLONEL,—In case of heavy firing in front of Harrison's Island, you will advance the California Regiment of your brigade, or retire the regiments under Colonels Lee and Devens, now on the” [almost illegible by blood] “Virginia side of the river, at your discretion, assuming command on arrival.

“Very respectfully, Colonel, your obedient servant,

“CHAS. P. STONE,

“Brigadier-General Commanding.”

Heavy firing was heard, and Colonel Baker decided to reinforce Devens. Leaving instructions to forward the artillery as quickly as possible, he hastened over to the Virginia side, and, assuming command, began to make the dispositions. Companies A and D, under Captain Markoe, were sent forward on the left as skirmishers to ascertain the position of the enemy's right flank. They had advanced but a short distance when they came suddenly on the right of his line of battle concealed in a dense wood, and were at once hotly engaged. The

action thus brought on soon became general. The ground on which Baker's forces were compelled to give battle was very unfavorable for them. It was an open field,—a sort of oblong square, the length running at right angles with the river,—bordered on three sides by a dense forest, and terminating on the fourth at the brow of the high bluff on the shore.

For nearly two hours the action continued with varying results, the enemy being generally met with the most determined spirit. But the odds were too great, and, gradually losing ground, our forces retired slowly to the edge of the bank. At five P.M. many of the men and officers had fallen; among the latter the brave Colonel Wistar, shot in three places, was borne from the field. At the same time fell Bramhall and French, of the artillery, who were also carried away severely wounded. Just then a still greater disaster occurred, the gallant Baker, who had been seen first on the left and then on the right, wherever the battle raged most severely, with his sword unsheathed,—encouraging the men by his example and words,—fell, covered with wounds. His death must have been instantaneous, and no language could more fitly describe it than his own prophetic words uttered in his last address before he entered the service. The body of the dead commander was safely and tenderly carried to the river, and ferried over to the spot which he had left but a short time before to “draw a sword never yet dishonored.” As the venerable form was borne along the line of young men standing on the river-bank, who for hours had been compelled to remain as silent witnesses of the terrible work in which their comrades were engaged, hundreds with tears in

their eyes looked on his livid face and said, with sorrowful hearts, "Father Baker is dead; his brigade loved him."

Immediately after the death of Colonel Baker the enemy made a determined advance, and, our forces being thrown into great confusion, the scene at once became appalling. A portion of the force endeavored to cut their way through to Edward's Ferry, but were met and repulsed by a Mississippi regiment. It now became a wild and disorderly retreat, men rushing down the steep bank to reach the boat, closely pursued by the victors, relentlessly firing into their masses. The only boat between the Virginia side and the island had been sunk while returning with wounded, and most of those on board were drowned. Communication being thus cut off, one of the officers now in command gave orders for such as wished to try to save themselves to throw away their pieces and plunge into the river, while all others should come and surrender with him.

The color-sergeant of the Seventy-First, seeing that all was lost, stripped his colors from the staff, and, winding them around his person, plunged into the river. He clung to them until nearly exhausted, and, to save his life, he cast the flag away, never to be recovered.

Soon the poor fellows who escaped from this terrible affair, naked and shivering with cold, began to join the rest of the troops on the Maryland side, and the fight at Ball's Bluff was over. At midnight the brigade, with the survivors of the California Battalion, returned to camp sad and depressed at the death of their brave old leader, and the loss of many gallant comrades.

Of five hundred and twenty of the Seventy-First

who entered this engagement, three hundred and twelve men were lost. Captain Harvey, A. A. G. of the brigade, and Lieutenant Williams were killed ; Captain Otter was either killed or drowned while crossing the stream ; and Captains Markoe and Keffer were wounded and taken prisoners.



## CHAPTER IV.

### CAMP OBSERVATION.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. W. BURNS, of the regular army, was ordered to the command of the brigade after the death of Colonel Baker. The same camping ground was occupied as before the Ball's Bluff affair, and the troops were employed in drilling and manœuvres whenever the weather would permit. A detail of four companies did picket duty on the Potomac from Conrad's Ferry on the left to the Point of Rocks on the right, connecting at the latter place with Colonel Geary's Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. This work was continued during the winter, and had so little excitement about it, especially during the day, that it became to those so engaged very monotonous.

It was made the duty of the senior officer of this picket to send hourly reports by means of a cavalrman to the headquarters of General Stone at Poolesville. There was no enemy to be seen on the other side, unless a stray citizen, occasionally gratifying his curiosity, could be construed into a rebel. The river always seemed to flow along at the same rate of speed, and seldom at this time of the year changed its volume. Under these conditions, it required some ingenuity on the part of an officer with a limited vocabulary to prevent his

reports from exhibiting a dull uniformity. The excitement about the picket-guard to the young soldier began, however, at night, when all are on the alert, and every little stir in the darkness is magnified out of all proportion. An owl screaming in the distance, or a muskrat plunging into the water, causes suspicion of the presence of an enemy; and if joined to these noises there is the sound of a rifle accidentally discharged, the fears are almost confirmed; but daylight comes, and all is quiet on the Potomac.

Early one morning, after a night somewhat disturbed by false alarms, the senior officer of one of the details was informed by an old resident that, from appearances, the river would certainly rise one foot by night-fall. This hint was a good one, and would prove valuable to General Stone and break the monotony. The officer was a man of prudence, and resolved not to overwhelm his commander at once. Eight or ten reports were prepared and numbered consecutively, bringing the river gradually to the proper height; and with pleasing confidence the day was devoted to a tour of hunting. Before the departure, the lieutenant in charge of the line was directed to forward the papers through the day in regular order. When evening brought the return to duty, the captain was mortified to learn that, instead of the anticipated rise, the river had fallen. It is not likely that General Stone ever discovered the value of these reports, or based any important movement on the information contained therein, and it is equally improbable that the officer ever repeated a similar experiment.

General Burns, the new commander, made at first an impression somewhat unfavorable, owing to his strict

enforcement of discipline; but the men soon learned its value in promoting efficiency, and as time wore away, and they witnessed the impartiality of his decisions, he became exceedingly popular, and was welcomed as the successor of the lamented Baker.

Winter had now begun, and it became apparent that the active campaign for 1861 was over, so far as the Corps of Observation was concerned. By the power of ready invention and the use of various camp devices, the troops succeeded in making their tents tolerably comfortable, and with the addition of blankets and overcoats were well protected from the severity of the season. The full ration of food was regularly issued, supplemented occasionally with a box of "good things" from home, and the daily mail brought letters and papers. In spite of these comforts, however, there was considerable restlessness and anxiety manifested by some, arising from the fact that for months the regiments had not received any payments, and men were serving who knew that those at home, depending upon them for support, were suffering for want of funds. This delay in settlement arose from a misunderstanding between the State authorities and the War Department concerning the muster of the regiments, and was finally settled by the issue of an order "that the muster of the regiments of Baker's Brigade, although irregular, is hereby authorized and approved."

During the uncertainty existing previous to this order, there was an increasing desire on the part of large numbers to see their homes, if only for a brief period. Nostalgia threatened to become epidemic, and it affected all classes. The only certain cure for this disease was a

furlough, and this was freely administered until, by the failure of some of the convalescents to return promptly, the patience of the general became exhausted, and he indorsed on an application for leave of absence, "Refused. On account of the frequent absence without leave, no more furloughs will be granted until the troops learn that duty is a sentiment of honor."

Believing that soldiers should be fertile in expedients and audacious in action, applications were renewed, with telegrams annexed from sick friends, or documents from lawyers imploring the presence of clients; but the general stood firm, and only permitted absence in extreme cases, and home-sickness soon disappeared.

The spirit infused by General Burns found a ready response in the regimental officers, and they displayed a worthy spirit of emulation in their endeavors to improve the excellence of their commands.

The Seventy-First, under the command of Majors Parrish and Smith, was reorganized. Lieutenant-Colonel Wistar, absent with wounds, was appointed to the coloneley, and vacancies among the company officers were filled by promotions. Additional recruits arrived from Philadelphia, and were placed under drill instruction with competent non-commissioned officers, of whom this regiment had a full supply. Some of the depleted companies were consolidated, and the organization speedily recovered from its heavy losses at Munson's Hill and Ball's Bluff, and attained great efficiency.

The Sixty-Ninth, under Colonel Joshua T. Owen, became rivals of the others in acquiring a knowledge of the duties of a soldier. This regiment became noted for its faithfulness on guard and picket duty, and espec-

ially for the tenacity of the men while serving on these duties in literally construing an order.

Shortly after pitching tents at Camp Observation, Colonel Owen passed the number one post of his camp at night without giving the countersign, and the sentry, for his neglect in failing to halt him, was punished by confinement in the guard-house. A few nights after this event, the colonel again attempted to enter, and on this occasion did not have the mystic word. He was promptly halted, and to the "Who comes here?" of the sentinel, replied, "Your colonel." "Advance, kernal, and give the countersign." "I haven't it, but you know me." "Faith, I know your horse, but I don't know you," was the reply, and calling the corporal of the guard, the colonel was admitted.

The other regiments were each furnished with a band, which added materially to the attractiveness of their evening parades; but the Sixty-Ninth derived its inspiration from the martial music of the fife and drum corps, led by a skillful musician named P. Moran. This leader was full of Irish wit and humor, and was so well known as master of his instrument that hundreds of soldiers from other camps gathered in front of the parade-ground when "the troop beat off" to hear "Paddy Moran, the fifer of the Sixty-Ninth."

The One Hundred and Sixth, under Colonel Morehead, had joined the brigade just before Ball's Bluff, and was present at that affair. The organization of its field and staff was completed in December by the appointment of Major John H. Stover, who was specially commissioned by Governor Curtin. This officer joined with Lieutenant-Colonel W. L. Curry in giving cordial

support to the measures of the commander. Copies of "Hardee's Tactics" were issued to the line officers, and the men were carefully drilled according to the regulation.

The Fire Zouaves, now changed in name to the Seventy-Second Pennsylvania, had their drill-ground immediately in front of brigade headquarters, and as they were manœuvred as a regiment by Colonel Baxter, or formed for dress-parade, they presented a very attractive sight. This was especially the case in brigade drills, when the bright colors of their uniform presented a handsome contrast to the appearance of the other troops. Colonel Baxter had many competent officers who realized the character of the work before them and endeavored to properly prepare their men. In addition to the manual of arms and evolutions in line, some of the companies were drilled as skirmishers and made familiar with the call of the bugle.

The time occupied in this camp was the longest period the brigade remained at any one place, but it passed rapidly, and much of it was not wasted. It might have been called Camp "Preparation," for such it really was. The troops before coming here had seen enough of active warfare to know its reality, and to teach them that the life of a soldier is one of hardship and danger. Officers began to know the character of their commands, while comrades formed attachments for each other only to be broken by death. The brigade was in splendid condition, and when the order came to move it was ready to bid farewell to Camp Observation.

## CHAPTER V.

### ACROSS THE POTOMAC.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN SEDGWICK, a graduate of West Point and an officer of the regular army who had served with distinction in the Mexican war, was now appointed to command the division in place of General Stone. Under the new organization of the Army of the Potomac, the Second Corps was commanded by Major-General Edwin V. Sumner, and contained the three divisions of Richardson, Sedgwick, and Blenker.

On February 27th, 1861, the Second Division was temporarily detached to assist in the movement of General Banks against Winchester. This day was cold and wintry; the bleak winds appeared to penetrate every place of shelter, and the ground was covered with snow and ice to such an extent that the duty of pickets and guards was rendered very arduous. It was one of the last days on which an order to prepare for moving might be anticipated, but such an order did come, and preparations were begun at once. Word was quickly passed from one regiment to another that this was to be the last night in Camp Observation, and that the brigade would move at daylight.

Rations were issued to be prepared by the company cooks for the haversacks, and each man received his

allowance of ammunition. Soldiers were busy packing their knapsacks so as to hold as much extra clothing as possible, and at the same time some useful relics of the old tent or "ranche." Officers spent the evening in arranging their luggage so as to carry in addition to their military wardrobe as many of the luxuries of camp as trunks could be made to hold, and some, no doubt influenced by the temperature of the night, determined to make room in the wagons for "Sibley" stoves or "Morning-Stars." Others found places for mess-chests with cooking utensils, Dutch ovens, and many other cherished institutions that might help to make "grim-visaged war smooth his wrinkled front." Each company was allowed two wagons for transportation, but these failed to supply the modest demands made upon the quartermaster.

The Philadelphia Brigade possessed, as Colonel Baker used to say, "the courage," and there was no question about its soldierly bearing and discipline; but it had not yet acquired the first great lesson in active warfare that so often brings success,—rapid movements in light marching order. This ignorance among the regimental officers and their men was not to be wondered at. Many of the prominent officers of the army who could quote from "Jomini on the Art of War," had failed to read the saying of Marshal Saxe, "Success is in the legs of the soldier." From necessity the enemy had imbibed this maxim, and more than once proved its worth against the Union armies. The experience of a short campaign in the field wrought a wonderful change, and the troops soon learned to distinguish between the wants of necessity and those of imagination.



A few months later the brigade passed over the same camp, the men carrying no knapsacks, and only a woolen blanket with one change of underclothing wrapped within it, and the officers had thrown away their extra luggage; the roads were no longer blocked with overloaded wagons, and the march, though more rapid, was not near so fatiguing.

On the morning of the 28th, the column moved slowly away, and as it passed over the hills surrounding the camp many paused to look for the last time on the familiar grounds, not without regret at the severance of agreeable associations, and at recollections of pleasant hours passed around the camp-fires; nor without hopeful anticipations, mingled with serious thoughts, that the struggle to come might bring success to the right.

Late in the day the troops reached Adamstown, a small village on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and bivouacked until the morning of March 2d, when they were transported by cars to Sandy Hook, opposite Harper's Ferry. The advance of Banks's column had occupied this place without much opposition a short time before our arrival, and already held possession of the heights of Bolivar, with skirmishers advanced toward Charlestown. The brigade crossed on a ponton bridge that had been laid by the engineers under Captain Duane, and for the first time in its history the entire organization stood on the "sacred soil."

Harper's Ferry, at the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac,—a place of great natural beauty,—was the scene of some of the gloomiest events of the rebellion. In itself it was of no military importance, and was in turn occupied for a brief time by either army. At this

early period of the war it gave evidence of desolation. The armory in which ten thousand muskets had been made annually, and the arsenal where thousands of stands of arms had been stored, were a mass of ruins; not even the vestige of a window-sill or cornice of a roof was left unburned. The old engine-house that John Brown occupied during his raid was still standing, and, with its great iron doors wide open toward the South,—fixed in their immovable position with rusted hinges,—seemed to say, “His soul goes marching on.”

The majority of the citizens had left their homes to the mercy of the armies shortly after the destruction of the arsenal. In most cases they had fled without taking their household goods, and as the soldiers were ordered to be quartered in these deserted places, it is probable that the value of their contents was not enhanced.

March 2d, Sedgwick moved to Bolivar Heights, where a camp was formed, and the men again found shelter under their old Sibley tents. As the transfer from the three-days’ residence under roofs was made in a drifting snow-storm, there were some who failed to appreciate the change.

The commissaries had not yet learned how to supply the troops regularly, and while there was an unnecessary profusion of some of the rations, there was a scarcity of others. To remedy this evil a few of the private soldiers made unauthorized drafts on the farm-yards of the valley. Many of the residents of this section of Virginia were the worst and meanest of guerrillas; men who had no love for honorable warfare, but who would fire into an ambulance filled with the wounded, or act as spies when there was no risk of danger; and

it is likely these facts prevented regimental commanders from inquiring where the men found their extra rations.

On the 7th an advance was made to a position on the Winchester Pike, beyond Charlestown. From this place pickets were sent out to Shenandoah Springs, and a reconnaissance was made on the left of the main column. From indications it appeared probable that the enemy under Stonewall Jackson would make a stand at Winchester, and Sedgwick's entire division, with the exception of a detail of the Second Brigade, was hurried forward as reinforcements. This detail was left to hold Charlestown and act as a provost guard.

Many of the inhabitants of the place were of the same treacherous and insolent character as the farmers in the country about, and it required the exercise of patience and good humor to prevent frequent collisions. The court-house and public buildings were occupied by the men as barracks. In the jail, made memorable by its associations with old John Brown, were a number of prisoners, serving out various terms, and as the soldiers had no rations to spare for civilians, these worthies were allowed to go free. This jail delivery was not effected until after a strong protest had been entered by a couple of tenacious individuals, one of whom was the jailer, who had carried the keys of "old Ossawatimie's" cell, and the other a middle-aged prisoner; the former did not want to lose his occupation, and the latter clung to his home.

The duty assigned to the portion of the brigade occupying Charlestown, although not attended with any special dangers, imposed continual watching day and night. There were but few among the white population of the

place who did not hate the flag they saw, and longed to take revenge the moment an opportunity offered. As the sentries walked the pavement, ladies in passing would gather their garments about them and step into the street.

Occasionally one of the little band of Unionists living in the town would stealthily slip into quarters and give information of a spy or concealed Confederate soldier; and on one occasion they were sure the detail would be attacked that night. This news seemed hardly probable, but, to be prepared, extra dispositions were made, and all were on the alert. This night seemed more quiet than others until early morning, when the reserve were aroused by pickets bringing in a train of wagons, composed of a variety of vehicles, drawn by all sorts of animals, and containing contrabands of both sexes and of all ages, varying from the little "pickaninny" to the gray-haired "boy." They were burdened with an endless variety of household goods, belonging to the persons from whom they had fled, and it was evident they had left their old homes forever. These slaves were overjoyed at meeting the guard, and some of them, with tears, cried out, "We hab come to work for Massa Linkum."

Hundreds of these contrabands came into the town while the brigade was there, and were lodged and fed until an opportunity offered to send them to Washington. Their numbers soon filled every part of the jail, and in the sound of their voices the cell of old John Brown seemed responding to the language of the engine-house at the ferry, by repeating the words of Milton,—

"This jail I count the house of liberty, to thine."

Stonewall Jackson having retired from Winchester, the services of Sedgwick's Division were no longer required by General Banks, and it was ordered to join the corps. Colonel Maulsby's Maryland regiment occupied Charlestown, and relieved the detachment of Burns's Brigade. Our troops had entered this place as victors, and had remained as guards over an excited people, but their conduct and discipline had so impressed the citizens that an application was made for their continuance, which, of course, was refused.

March 15th, the entire division again encamped on Bolivar Heights, awaiting orders.

March 23d, after spending a tedious week in the same camp, tents were struck, and the division recrossed to Sandy Hook, where it took passage in freight ears for Washington, and joined the other portion of the corps.

March 27th, moved to Alexandria, preparatory to embarking for Fortress Monroe. At this place the "Sibleys" were exchanged for small "shelter" tents, and orders were also issued limiting the amount of baggage to be carried, and reducing the allowance of wagons. This began to look like work.

In front of Alexandria were lying scores of vessels, prepared to transport the Army of the Potomac, about to commence the first great movement of the war. Over one hundred thousand men, fifteen thousand horses, fifty batteries, with wagons and ambulances, ponton trains, and all manner of stores necessary for an army of this size were to be carried by water. It was one of the greatest undertakings of the war, and no operation of the Government more fully illustrated the power of its resources or the executive ability of its leaders. In the

early history of the Republic our brigade with its six thousand men would have formed an army of itself, but in the mass of soldiers continually passing to the front it seemed the merest fraction of the whole.

March 28th, the four regiments were embarked on ocean steamers and started down the river. During the three days required for the trip there was but little comfort for those on board, as the men were literally stowed in every part of the vessels. All seemed to bear the inconvenience with good nature, except on the first day at meal-time, when there was a little grumbling at the lack of facilities to cook their food. Large caldrons had been provided to boil the coffee, and a novel invention soon helped to overcome the other difficulties. The raw bacon carried in the haversacks was cut into slices, bayonets fixed on the guns were used as spits, and the immense stacks of the steamer furnished the broiler. It was an amusing sight to see the men stand in turns around this greasy pipe and press their pork against its sides until it was done to a crisp; but the food was relished just as well as if it had been prepared in the regular way, and the operation, along with many other funny doings, helped to while away the tedious hours spent on the passage down the Potomac.

## CHAPTER VI.

### YORKTOWN.

THE past winter had been a season of vast preparation by the United States Government. The illusions existing in the minds of the Union leaders during the early part of the rebellion as to the character and probable duration of the war were fast being dissolved. The uprising of the South was no longer looked upon by the thoughtful men of the North as a mere rebellion of discontented citizens against their Government, to be easily put down by a proper display of force, or as an affair that would end in ninety days; but had assumed proportions of far greater magnitude. The disaster at Bull Run, with a number of minor affairs of the same character, had drawn serious attention to the importance and extent of the measures necessary for its suppression. The formation of armies and the collection of war materials were begun upon a scale commensurate with the greatness of a conflict between two powerful rival nations. Campaigns were planned for the spring of 1862 as against large armies led by skillful generals, familiar with all the rules of strategy and operating near their base of supplies; and commanders had begun to realize that the seat of war where battles were to be fought was one familiar to the enemy, and to be reached by means

of roads and water-courses passing through a hostile population.

The first great movement of the Army of the Potomac gave evidence, in its planning and preparations, of a careful determination to merit success. The base of operations—Fortress Monroe—was well-nigh impregnable, and easy of access to our fleet and supply-vessels; and should our army meet with disaster, which no one seemed to anticipate, it could, if necessary, take shelter under the protection of the immense guns of the fortress. The objective point was Richmond.

Early in February, an expedition of four brigades, under General Burnside, had left Fortress Monroe and attacked Roanoke Island, which it captured, with three thousand prisoners, together with a large number of guns and war material. In addition to this event, the new Monitor, a few days before our arrival, had its memorable fight with the Confederate ram Merrimac, and so disabled her as to render it probable she would not again annoy our vessels lying in that vicinity. These successes, joined with news of others from the western armies, had created enthusiasm among our troops, and led them to hope for still greater victories.

Upon landing, March 31st, at Fortress Monroe, we found that the first division of the grand army had arrived at that place on the 17th of March, and had been rapidly followed by others, until fifty thousand men and one hundred guns had already arrived. To those who had not yet seen so large an assemblage of troops, it seemed as if this portion of the Peninsula was filled with soldiers. On the 4th of April, the movement of our division began by an advance toward Yorktown.



The section of country known as the Peninsula is an isthmus formed by the York and James Rivers, varying in width from seven to fifteen miles, and about fifty miles in length. It is low and flat; in most places water can be obtained by digging three or four feet. It has an abundance of marshes and streams, and is heavily timbered with pines; under the most favorable circumstances it would not appear in itself to be a land worth fighting for, and this impression was made more prominent as the column advanced.

Everywhere on the route were to be seen indications of the waste of war. The little village of Hampton, a short distance from the fort, which had the appearance of having once been a place of delightful resort, and around which clustered many historical reminiscences of great interest, was a scene of ruin and desolation. Its public buildings and hotel were destroyed, and in place of its homes were blackened walls and heaps of cinders. The venerable church, built in colonial times and standing out of danger from the conflagration of the village, was not spared, and even the grave-yard, with its overturned monuments and broken tablets, gave evidence of the marked determination of the enemy to make the land a barren waste for the invaders. Similar sights were presented along the entire march to Big Bethel. Houses, barns, and bridges were all gone, and fences had been torn away to be placed in piles and burned to ashes. Passing scenes like these one could well interpret the line of the poet, "Cry havoc! and let slip the dogs of war."

At the time of the advance on the Peninsula by the van-guard of McClellan, the force of the enemy directly

opposed was estimated to number about eleven thousand men, and was under the command of General J. B. Magruder, who had defeated a Union force ten months before this at Big Bethel, and who was the reputed author of the desolation of Hampton and its vicinity. Against this force General McClellan was advancing in two columns,—one along the Yorktown road, and the other by way of Warwick. These were commanded respectively by Generals Heintzelman and Keyes. In the right column were the divisions of Fitz John Porter and Hamilton of the Third Corps, and of Sedgwick of the Second Corps. The latter was the only division of its corps that had yet landed. Richardson's Division joined us shortly after; but the division of Blenker had been permanently detached and ordered to General Fremont by President Lincoln.

The Second, under Sedgwick, destined to earn during its connection with the army an enviable reputation for its gallantry in action, was composed of some of the best of the three-years' regiments. The First Minnesota, Seventh Michigan, Forty-Second (Tammany) and Eighty-Second New York, Fifteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Massachusetts, and other regiments of like character made for themselves and the command a national reputation. Between these regiments and the Philadelphians there soon sprung up an intimacy and a generous spirit of emulation. In all their struggles with the foe they stood shoulder to shoulder. By the necessities of war and the loss of officers, each of the brigades were in turn commanded by regimental officers from the others,—Colonels Baxter, Morehead, and Owen frequently commanding the First and Third Brigades;

while the Second, in the absence of senior officers of regiments, was occasionally led by a colonel from New York or Massachusetts.

The advance pushed forward, hoping to strike Magruder before he was reinforced by Johnston from Richmond, or had succeeded in perfecting a line of defense. The first night of the movement (April 4th) a halt was made by the right column at Big Bethel, where General McClellan, who was accompanying it, made his headquarters; at the same time, the left was at the little village of Warwick Court-House. On the 5th, the column again moved forward, meeting but little opposition, except from an occasional cavalry-picket, until late in the day, when each column found itself confronted by Magruder's position before Yorktown.

This place previous to the war was a village of a few hundred inhabitants, and was a port of entry, having a respectable amount of shipping. It is situated about seventy miles southeast of Richmond, upon rising ground on the south bank of the York River, eleven miles from its mouth.

From Yorktown, Magruder had extended a fortified line reaching along the Warwick to the James River. The former stream rises near Yorktown and, flowing across the Peninsula, empties into the James. This line had been selected with excellent judgment. The passage of the York River on the enemy's left was obstructed by the heavy guns at Yorktown and the water-batteries at Gloucester Point directly opposite, while the right was equally guarded by the works on James River. The distance from the right to the left of Magruder's position was eight miles. The approach to it was by

single roads, heavily obstructed, leading through marshes and dense tracts of pine. Through the marshes or swamps were running streams of water that had been turned in some places into artificial ponds, and at other points preparations had been made to release suddenly a large body of water and overwhelm an attacking party. The entire space in front was exceedingly advantageous for defense and unfavorable for offensive operations.

On the morning of the 6th, in order to ascertain the precise position of the works in our front, General Burns was ordered to make a reconnoissance, and the Seventy-Second and One Hundred and Sixth Regiments were selected for the purpose.

An operation of this character is one of the most interesting connected with field-movements, and when properly made under the direction of a competent and careful officer the information obtained is often of great value to the commanding officer. If the reverse is the case, and reports of observations are made that cannot be verified, as in one instance quite fresh in the memory of some of the division at this time, when the light at evening, striking through the foliage, was mistaken for the white tents of the enemy, the consequences are sometimes as fearful as the errors of Ball's Bluff.

General Burns understood his duty thoroughly, and the regiments detailed performed their work with satisfaction. At early dawn the troops fell into line in heavy marching order; that is, carrying their rations, knapsacks, and shelter-tents, and moved to the extreme right of the advance. A strong line of skirmishers was now thrown out, covering the front and both flanks, and a

movement was made to discover the location of the force in front of Heintzelman. Where the enemy's pickets were encountered they were driven in, and our skirmishers pushed on until the supports or batteries were found.

At different times through the day a few shots from the field-works, partially concealed by slashings of timber, gave all the evidence required of their presence. During these operations, the troops acting as supports were generally concealed in the woods or ravines, and were permitted to rest on their arms. When an occasional shell, or the stray bullets from a volley, whizzed over their heads or cut the trees about them, it required no order to have the line of battle formed at once. In this way the whole of Heintzelman's front was explored, and about two o'clock his left flank was reached. At this point our force entered a dense wood, and moving through it slowly, depending on a pocket-compass in the hands of General Burns for the point of direction, suddenly encountered the enemy, and immediately after received a fire of artillery. Preparations were made in anticipation of an attack by infantry, but the fire soon ceased, and the command slowly retraced its steps, and at night-fall joined the rest of the brigade. This whole affair was full of excitement, and would have proved rather entertaining to the men had they been unincumbered with their heavy loads.

The information obtained was of value so far as it located the positions of the enemy confronting our advance, and although Burns's Brigade had opportunities subsequently to engage in more extensive affairs in force than this, it is not probable that many of those living at

this date have forgotten their first reconnoissance made in front of Yorktown on April 6th.

The three days following this movement were exceedingly stormy and cold. From the nature of the soil, mud was everywhere, and grew deeper as the storm continued, until there seemed no place to rest or sleep. During this weather the enemy were completing their defenses and strengthening their lines.

It now became apparent that General McClellan's original plan for forcing the defenses of the enemy was a failure, and unless Gloucester Point could be first turned by the army the co-operation of the navy was not to be expected. Preparations were therefore begun for the operations of a siege.

When the advance first left Hampton it was ordered that the troops should be furnished with ten days' rations in their haversacks, and three days' on the "hoof." Orders of this kind became very familiar during subsequent campaigns, but when first heard by the soldiers it afforded some very amusing explanations as to what kind of "hoofs" were to carry the extra rations. After the ten days' supplies were exhausted the troops were entirely dependent on the wagons for furnishing subsistence. In order to bring these to the front it was necessary to construct roads and build bridges. To perform these labors the men were often compelled to march and work in water and mud knee-deep. To make the roads trees were cut down from twelve to eighteen or twenty inches in diameter, and divided into sections of about eighteen feet each. These were placed side by side in the mud, and in some places held in position by stakes driven into the ground.

Soon after the commencement of regular siege operations, Burns's Brigade was moved from Shipping Point to a place near Winn's Mills, where a camp was formed and called "Winfield Scott." As this location was immediately in the front, and was occupied by the command during the remainder of the siege, it was at times a scene of excitement. All those fit for duty were kept constantly on picket, or at work throwing up intrenchments. Heavy artillery was being continually brought to the front, though with a great amount of difficulty. To receive these guns the engineers were constructing fourteen redoubts, or batteries, connected with each other by means of rifle-pits or earth-works. The position assigned for Sedgwick to complete was known as Battery Number Eight.

While at work on these forts, or on picket in front of them, the men were exceedingly annoyed by the enemy's sharp-shooters. This style of warfare had been reduced to a system quite early in the campaign, and both sides had acquired great skill therein. Men who were familiar with the rifle, and who were assigned to this duty, quietly selected their positions during the night, and by means of a spade formed an excavation as a place of shelter, throwing the dirt removed from the pit into an embankment toward the enemy, and concealing the fresh appearance of the earth by means of bushes and branches of trees. In these pits they would lie until early dawn, when the firing began, and was carried on whenever opportunity presented along the entire line. Some of the men were splendid shots, and in many instances it was certain death for the Confederates to attempt to load their cannon after daylight. One of these men used to

say when he returned to camp at night that he had captured a gun but was unable to bring it in.

At evening the enemy made up for any time lost through the day. When the fatigue detail were about to come into camp from their work on the battery, they were often saluted by a severe fire of artillery, with an occasional discharge of sharp-shooters' rifles. These annoyances were not confined to the early evening, but frequently the camp was aroused and kept under arms for hours during the night by discharges of artillery, or two or three startling volleys of musketry. Soldiers are disposed to give a reason for everything, and in their opinion these endless night-alarms were created by the enemy to harass our men, and unfit them, by loss of rest, for the duties of the day. During the remainder of April these labors, and the alarms incidental to their performance, were continued until they became burdensome.

In the mean time large guns, one-hundred, and even two-hundred pounders, and heavy mortars, were slowly brought forward and put into place. A sharp watch was kept on the enemy lest they might slip away before these guns had been put to use. Captive balloons were used in making observations, and on one occasion a change was made in the character of the excitement by a balloon containing Fitz John Porter becoming detached from its fastenings. The wind at the moment was blowing along the lines, and appeared to carry the general alternately over each, and at one time it was doubtful which of the armies would have the honor of entertaining him, but to his great satisfaction he succeeded in landing in the camp of the Seventy-Second. .



Early in May it became apparent that McClellan had completed every preparation necessary to insure the capture of Yorktown. On the 4th, just as we were expecting the order for the final bombardment and the terrific assault which was to follow, the picket brought word that the enemy had fled! Soon this news spread from one camp to another, until from the James to the Warwick there were loud cheers and rejoicing over the bloodless victory of McClellan. The bands throughout the entire encampments had been restricted from playing during the siege, but were now brought out, and added music to the joyous excitement.

The moment skirmishers had occupied the forsaken works, hundreds of men passed over the fields to view them. The scenes behind the defenses that had confronted our army so long gave indications that their abandonment had been conducted in a deliberate and orderly manner. Heavy guns and considerable supplies of ammunition were left behind, and a large number of tents were still standing; these, of course, could not well be removed without revealing the operations; otherwise there was the same general appearance always presented when a camp has been forsaken. The evacuation had probably been quietly going on for several days.

In front of Battery Number Eight some of the facetious fellows among the enemy had left messages written with charcoal upon the tents. One of these, dated at a very suspicious hour, read: "One o'clock A.M., May 4th, 1862. Good-by, Yanks. You call us Rebels, we call you Vandals." There were a few stragglers and deserters left behind, but this class of people are of no value

to either side, and deserve but little consideration from friend or foe. On first entering the works they were concealed in tents or behind logs, and in some instances held above their place of shelter, to protect them from being shot as enemies, a piece of white cloth or paper fixed on a ramrod.

In the larger and more important works immediately around Yorktown the enemy had availed themselves of some of the baser arts of war. Wherever it was probable our men would enter, and near every object of interest likely to attract a crowd, were planted concealed torpedoes and percussion shells. The existence of these mementos of the tactics of "chivalry" soon became known, and precautions were taken to prevent damage. This was not done, however, until several men were killed or seriously injured, among the latter a member of the Sixty-Ninth, who lost both legs.

As soon as it was known that the enemy had evacuated Yorktown the cavalry and light batteries under Stoneman, supported by the divisions of Hooker and Kearney, were ordered in pursuit. At the same time Franklin's Division was directed to embark on transports in waiting for West Point, and Richardson's and Sedgwick's commands were moved to the right ready to assist in the advance or embark with Franklin.

At Williamsburg, a few miles north of Yorktown, the enemy had a series of field works, one of them, Fort Magruder, being of considerable strength. At this place their rear-guard had made a stand to enable the rest of the army with its trains to cross the Chickahominy. To strengthen this defense, General Johnston—the Confederate commander—had ordered the return of Longstreet's

Division. As soon as our cavalry struck these lines they were repulsed, and awaited the arrival of the infantry under Hooker, who were struggling and wading through the muddiest of roads. On their arrival the attack was begun, and continued with varying success and heavy losses until far into the night.

The sound of this battle was heard at Yorktown, and word came back that it was more than an affair of a rear-guard. Sumner was sent forward to take command of our troops, while his corps was formed in column and moved on the Williamsburg road ready to go forward.

There are some experiences in the life of a soldier more unpleasant than being under fire from the enemy, and this night brought one of them. It was cold, dark, and rainy. The soil had been turned into slimy mud, and the soldiers—tired and shivering—were massed together with scarce room to move, and no place to lean upon or recline. For hours they faced the storm in this dreary road, until the order to move was countermanded.

On the morning of the 6th the fight at Williamsburg was resumed. After some severe work, in which the New Jersey regiments and the men of Hancock's Brigade gained considerable honors, the battle ceased and the enemy again retreated. Our loss was reported at twenty-two hundred.

During the time the brigade was in front of Yorktown the killed and wounded by the siege operations were light, but it suffered considerably by losses from disease and death caused by the hardships the men were compelled to undergo, and it is probable none of the command left the place with the least regret.

## CHAPTER VII.

### FAIR OAKS.

THE brigade was now ordered to join in the flank movement already commenced, by way of the York River, to West Point, a place about twenty-five miles above Yorktown, and situated on a peninsula between the Pamunkey and Mattapony Rivers.

At six A.M. on May 7th we marched to the wharf, and after waiting several hours embarked on steam transports, landing in the evening at Brick House, opposite West Point. Franklin's Division and Dana's Brigade of Sedgwick's had already occupied this position, but not without a spirited engagement with the Confederate rear-guard, in which our forces lost about two hundred men. This affair occurred the day of our arrival, and, anticipating a renewal of the fight on the next morning, our command was placed in position, but it was found at daylight that the enemy had retired.

On the afternoon of the 9th the division moved to a camping ground at Eltham, about two miles nearer New Kent Court-House, where it remained for several days.

While in this camp the line officers of regiments had their first acquaintance with the difficulty that attends procuring subsistence, an experience which was frequently repeated afterwards. Troops cannot fight or march on

empty stomachs, and at all hazards the Government must supply the enlisted men with rations. On the other hand, a commissioned officer must look for his supplies to his own enterprise. If the regimental commissary has an abundance of stores, he can dispose of his extras by sale to officers; should this not occur, and sutlers fail to reach the camp, it sometimes requires considerable strategy to procure necessary food. During this campaign frequently the men were well supplied, while those who commanded them fared very badly, and occasionally captains of companies who were unwilling to reduce the allowance of the men by accepting their proffered rations, were known to eke out their scanty supplies by gathering on the march food that had been thrown away.

Upon the arrival of the sutler this difficulty was temporarily overcome by the purchase of such articles of food as he had brought to the camp. These consisted at times of all sorts of provisions, wholesome or otherwise. Fruit and vegetables in cans, cheese, gingerbread, and some very questionable sausages, with a variety of other things, were eagerly purchased without regard to price, and the officer was ready for the next forward movement. To transport these supplies and have a stock ready for use during the day, they were intrusted to the care of a colored servant,—frequently a contraband,—with whom the officer shared his rations. Some of these freedmen no doubt surprised their palates with novel sensations. A man hired by Captain McBride, of the Seventy-Second, used to strike his hand on his face when he tasted a sutler's device for the first time, and exclaim, "I've lost a nerve!" and when another contraband treated him to a sardine, he asked, "What de

Yanks call dem?" On being answered, "A lizard," nothing daunted, he replied, "Emerson, hab you anudder of dem lizards to spare?"

These "contraband" servants, in spite of their ignorance and mirth-provoking mistakes, were generally faithful to their employers, and frequently, when the haversacks were nearly empty, their knowledge of the country, and especially of the colored people along the route, enabled them to replenish their scanty stock.

Fresh supplies of food were guarded as new-found treasures, yet sometimes they disappeared before night by some adroit trick, and the thief was seldom discovered. There were exceptions, however, and one of these was very ludicrous. An officer's servant had captured a chicken, and, suspending it to his haversack, joined the column, where he was congratulated by his master for his success. A few moments later, while passing the drummers, the fowl disappeared. Fortunately for the officer he was near at hand, and, seizing one of the stoutest of the boys, demanded his property. The youngster denied all knowledge, and when the chicken was found under his buttoned coat, he immediately replied, "How did I know it was there?"

One of the most responsible and trying positions in a regiment on active service is that of company commander. He is really the father of a family, and to discharge his duties properly he should always have a clear head in danger, a cheerful countenance in the midst of reverses, and that endurance which never complains. He is expected to keep accurate accounts and make out regular returns of all the clothing and camp equipage he has received, as well as to prepare the descriptive and

muster rolls for the pay of the men, and he is supposed to be ready at any time to report the full strength—present and absent—of his company. To carry the papers and books necessary for his work, with his extra clothing and a full suit for reviews, he is allowed transportation for a satchel or small valise.

Most of the officers of Burns's Brigade, in spite of these difficulties and others of a more trivial character, discharged their duties well; yet they would have been materially assisted in their performance had the regulation in time of war permitted an issue of rations in kind to officers as well as to the rank and file; and it would have been still better if, instead of a small amount of clothing carried in wagons, a pack-mule had been allowed to carry, for a definite number of officers, a limited amount of rations as well as baggage. By this change the size of the trains would not have been increased, as the pack animal could have been fed by foraging on the march, and in winter quarters might have been used by the quartermaster.

Convenient as these changes might be to an officer, one still more useful could be made in his weapons and uniform. The arms of an officer of infantry are supposed to be a sword and revolver. The former is of no more practical value in the field than a stout club, except as a notice to an enemy's sharp-shooter that the wearer has a rank. The scabbard interferes with quick operations through brush and dense woods, and at night on a picket line its rattling frequently indicates the movements of its owner. Often while the pickets are in close proximity to each other, they do not exchange shots, but the moment an officer is seen on either side he

is sure to be made a target. This sometimes prevents a safe opportunity for close observation of the enemy's field works.

If the arms of line officers were breech-loading rifles instead of swords, and if their uniform was of the same color as that of their men, with no distinguishing mark except such as their own troops could easily recognize, the practical good of the service would be materially increased.

On the 15th of May our division was moved a distance of eight miles, to a point near New Kent Court-House, and camped there. The next day the advance division of the army with headquarters took possession of White House Landing, at the head of navigation on the Pamunkey. From this point to Richmond is a distance of eighteen miles by the York River Railroad. Depots were established here, and preparations were made to bring supplies by water, and to repair the railroad as the army advanced toward Richmond. This road, when restored, was used during the time McClellan was before the Confederate capital, as a line of communication from the front of the army to the base, at White House.

May 21st. Weather hot and oppressive. Division marched about thirteen miles to accomplish a distance of eight or nine, and encamped at night near Bottom's Bridge on the Chickahominy.

This stream, destined to bear such a prominent part in the history of the great conflict, and with whose name so many sad memories are brought to thousands of households in the land, is of no considerable size, but very fickle in its character.



It is formed by the junction of a number of small streams that unite in the rough and hilly country northwest of Richmond, and flows an east-southeast course, emptying into the James River many miles below the city. The stream, in itself, does not oppose any considerable obstacle to the advance of an army, but with its intervals of marshy shores and heavily-timbered swamps, whose tree-tops often rise to a level with the table lands bordering these bottoms and concealing them from view, it is an obstacle of the most formidable character.

On the retreat of the enemy the different bridges crossing the stream on McClellan's line of advance were destroyed.

Directly north of Richmond, on the line of the Virginia Central Railroad, is Meadow Bridge, at a distance of five miles from the city. Two miles below Meadow Bridge there is another, on the Mechanicsville road. Here the stream grows gradually wider by the addition of creeks, but flows sluggishly through low, swampy lands. Next to Mechanicsville, and four miles below it, is New Bridge, at a distance of seven miles from Richmond. Seven miles below this is Bottom's Bridge, one mile below the point where the Richmond and York River Railroad crosses the stream.

About the time of Sedgwick's arrival at the river, the advance of the army began to cross at both Bottom's Bridge and the railroad. After reconnoitering within a short distance of Richmond and nearly to the James River, the troops that had crossed fell back to points nearer the Chickahominy, and commenced fortifying their position. Casey's Division of Keyes's Corps was

placed on both sides of the Williamsburg road, six miles from Richmond and half a mile beyond Seven Pines. Couch's Division of the same corps extended from Seven Pines to Fair Oaks Station, on the York River Railroad. Kearney's Division of Heintzelman's Corps was on the same road to the rear of Peach Orchard, and the division of Hooker of the same corps was protecting the approaches from White Oak Swamp, that lay to the left of these divisions.

Meantime the corps of Sumner, Porter, and Franklin remained on the left bank of the river. In this divided condition the army remained during its stay before Richmond, although the relative positions of some of the corps were changed occasionally.

By the 27th, Sumner's Corps had constructed two bridges over the river for the passage of troops; one of them was called the Grapevine, and the other Sumner's Lower Bridge. At this work and picketing our time was fully occupied.

On the morning of the 28th the entire division was ordered under arms, and in ten minutes' time from the sounding of the assembly the brigade was hurried off, without breakfast or coffee. The object apparently—for no soldier appears to know anything, or should not, except from personal experience—was to sustain General Porter's Division in a heavy skirmish that was going on not far from Hanover Court-House. After marching a few miles the command was halted in a large field, where it remained until the afternoon of the 29th, when it returned to camp. As this sudden march was made in light order it was not fatiguing, and was attended with no inconvenience except the loss of the morning lunch.

May 31st, from about ten A.M. we heard heavy firing on our left across the Chickahominy. "Old Sumner," who was the ideal of a soldier for dash and swiftness, was very restless. He mounted his horse, and seemed momentarily expecting an order, and fretting because it did not come. The corps was under arms, and at noon Sumner, impatient at the delay, would wait no longer, and moved without orders to the Grapevine Bridge and halted, with Sedgwick's Division in advance. When we reached the bridge the rough logs forming the corduroy road leading over the swamp to it were mostly afloat, and were only kept in their places by the stumps of the trees to which they were fastened. The bridge itself was suspended from the trunks of trees by ropes, and on their strength depended the safety of the structure.

When the order came to "move forward at once," and the first part of our division marched on the bridge, it seemed impossible that it could stand; but the very weight of the troops while crossing made it temporarily secure by settling it against the solid stumps. With our advance was Kirby's Battery, First United States Artillery. To get the guns out of the swamp to solid ground after crossing required extraordinary exertions. The horses were unhitched, and the infantry vied with the men of the battery in their endeavors to drag them forward. By fairly lifting guns and limbers they were carried out of the mire, and Sedgwick was soon on his way with his favorite battery to the relief of our comrades of Keyes's and Heintzelman's Corps.

Realizing that every moment was precious, and guided by the deafening roll of musketry and the booming of

cannon, the troops, filled with enthusiasm, pushed on, passing Trent's large mansion, then across a wheat-field to a swift-flowing stream, fording which they entered a thin strip of woods. Here they met numbers of wounded men coming from the fight, which was raging just in front of this timber; stray balls were flying about us, and before we realized it,—and while some were discussing whether the bullets that were whizzing past were spent or not,—we were in our first battle as an entire brigade.

General Sumner now assumed command of the whole field, and the moment was a critical one. The enemy had turned the left of our troops at Fair Oaks station, cutting it off from the rest of the army, and it looked as if the entire left wing that had crossed the Chickahominy was doomed to destruction.

Sedgwick quickly formed the First Brigade, under General Gorman, in line of battle on the edge of the woods we had entered, and Kirby swung his brass guns into position and loaded them with canister. At the same time the Second Brigade was formed in mass near the crest of a hill, alongside the battery and to the right of the First Brigade.

The battle was raging as furiously as ever, wounded men and stragglers were falling back for shelter, and on the field in front our troops were fighting and gradually retiring before overwhelming numbers. Gorman now led his brigade over the crest and swept down in line of battle towards Fair Oaks, where the Twenty-Third Pennsylvania, under Colonel Niell, and Cochran's United States Chasseurs were desperately fighting.

As the movement began, and the responsive volley of

the enemy reached the flank of the Seventy-Second, Colonel Baxter sung out, "That's the music, boys; now for three cheers!" At the same instant General Burns turned towards the brigade, and, swinging his hat in the air, exclaimed, "Let them be hearty!" In a moment a deafening shout arose from the entire command, and joined to it were the cheers of the advancing First Brigade and the roar of Kirby's guns; and the earth fairly trembled.

These cheers filled our struggling fellows with fresh confidence; they knew that help was at hand, while to the enemy, as some of the prisoners told us afterward, they came like a death-knell; and as the presence of the troops that gave them was so unexpected, it seemed as though they arose from the ground.

The moment Gorman began to advance, heavy volleys of musketry enfiladed our right; to meet this Burns deployed the Sixty-Ninth and Seventy-Second, while Sedgwick led in person the Seventy-First and One Hundred and Sixth to the support of Kirby and the charge of the First Brigade.

The enemy were determined to capture Kirby's guns, and the strife about them was intense; but in spite of persistent efforts to take them they held their position with great gallantry and steadiness. Just as night came on the enemy made one more vigorous effort on the right of the division, when Sumner ordered a bayonet charge by two regiments of Dana's Brigade and three of Gorman's. This force performed their work bravely. They leaped two fences between them and the enemy, and, rushing forward, drove the Confederates in confusion. It was now dark, and the battle ceased for the night.

The loss of the brigade in the action of this day was five killed and thirty wounded. Among the former was Lieutenant Frank A. Donaldson, Seventy-First; and among the latter Captain Francis H. Acuff, One Hundred and Sixth, and Captain John A. Markoe, Seventy-First. As this was the first battle of the command as a brigade, the troops were highly pleased with the compliments of their general, who said in his official report, "I am entirely satisfied with the conduct of my brigade. It has been christened under fire, and will do what is required of it."

Immediately after the last charge of Sumner's troops, a portion of the brigade was deployed as skirmishers in front of the woods into which the enemy had retreated. On this advanced portion of the field over which the two forces had been contending, were to be seen some of the realities of war. The wounded and dead of both armies were lying as they had fallen, and in large numbers. Strewn over the ground were rifles, haversacks, canteens, and accoutrements; but instead of the roar of the battle and the shouts of victory or of defiance, were the groans and cries of suffering men.

About eleven o'clock P.M. the Seventy-First Regiment was ordered by General Sumner to move into a position between the battle-field and Grapevine Bridge to cover the communications while the artillery was being brought to the front. During the night Richardson's Division came up, while Kearney's Brigades, which had separated from his corps, again formed connection.

On the morning of June 1st the conflict was renewed. This time the brunt was borne by Richardson's, while

the Second Division was hurried about from one place to another to act as support to the artillery wherever it was thought to be most needed. Once bayonets were fixed while advancing with orders to charge, but it was countermanded. By twelve o'clock, with the exception of an occasional volley, the battle of Fair Oaks had ended.

After remaining in position on the field for two days, our brigade was ordered, on the evening of the 3d, to double-quick to the extreme left of the line and reinforce Hooker's Division, which expected an attack. During the night there was a heavy rain, and the men were thoroughly drenched. On the following morning, in this condition, the command was moved through the marshy ground, where some of the hardest fighting had taken place, and where the dead in large numbers were lying terribly disfigured. In some cases bodies were partly buried, as if some friend had commenced the last rite and had been driven away. In other places, where the swamps were deep, dead Confederates were standing erect, shot as they were retreating, and the mire had prevented their fall. The whole atmosphere, heavy after the rain, was filled with a horrible odor that penetrated our wet clothing, and even tainted the food in the haversacks. Strong men grew sick and turned aside with horror.

All about this terrible battle-field there were most mournful sights. With but few houses or places of shelter to accommodate the wounded, many were compelled to lie on the ground and to protect themselves as best they could from the burning sun. It is worthy of especial mention that the large majority of the wounded endured their sufferings with scarce a murmur.

Until the 6th of June we were in this immediate vicinity, and its unwholesome atmosphere, uniting with the malaria of the Chickahominy swamps, began to affect the men. A number from the brigade were stricken down with fever, and these sufferers were even more unfortunate than the wounded. There was some measure of attention given to the latter; but it was said in some cases by actions, if not by words, that "a soldier has no business to become sick;" and the surgeons had but little time to bestow upon them.

For a week or two after the battle of Fair Oaks, there was some difficulty in procuring sanitary supplies for the sick. This was probably owing to the sudden and unexpected demand, and to the limited means of transportation, but, like many other difficulties in providing for a great army, it was soon overcome.

By moving to the right of the battle-field and facing towards Richmond, its scenes were hid from sight, and to that extent the *morale* of the men was increased; but no army from the North could ever entirely overcome the feeling of lassitude incidental to a location on the banks of this treacherous stream in the hot days of June.

Our new position joined Richardson on the left, and on the right extended towards the Chickahominy. That portion of the line occupied by Burns's Brigade was parallel to the enemy's works on Garnett's farm, about one mile distant. In front of us were thick woods of irregular depth,—in some places only half a mile, in others extending almost to the Confederate line; its narrowest portion bordered on Garnett's large wheat-field. Our pickets were placed about half a mile to the front of the brigade; this brought some of them to the edge



of the open field, while others, connecting on the same line, were located entirely in the woods. As the enemy's videttes were immediately in front of ours, it required some care even by daylight on the part of those in the woods to avoid a surprise; but at night, when the pickets on both sides were advanced stealthily as close as possible to each other, extraordinary caution was necessary. Not unfrequently both men and officers, unfamiliar with the ground, lost their way, and were wounded or captured. In this way the brigade met several losses,—among these were Captain Martin Frost, One Hundred and Sixth, killed June 9th; Lieutenant Maurine C. Moore, Seventy-First, killed June 8th; and Lieutenant Moran, Sixty-Ninth, wounded. At about the same time Lieutenant-Colonel W. L. Curry was captured by the enemy and sent to Richmond, and afterwards became a fellow-prisoner with General Michael Corcoran at Salisbury, where he was severely treated. At the end of three months the colonel was released, and rejoined his regiment.

The tour of duty before Richmond was very similar to that at Yorktown, with the exception that the troops were not employed to any great extent on fatigue details. The only earthworks of any consequence near us were on Richardson's front, and occasionally a detachment from the brigade assisted in their erection. Each of Burns's regiments constructed on their lines rifle-pits topped off with logs and dead trees, and to increase these defenses, slashings were made in the woods immediately in front.

Often at night the camps were under arms, in consequence of picket-firing and expected attacks which

never took place. These alarms arose more frequently with some of the picket details than others, and the men became so well aware of this that the answer to the question, "Who is on picket to-night?" often indicated in their opinion the character of the rest they were to enjoy.

While in this vicinity the experiment of issuing rations of whisky to the troops was tried by the commissaries. Regularly every day the men fell in line for their "commissary," as it was called. Most of the soldiers at first drew this ration and drank all or part of it. Young men who never used it as a beverage at home stood beside those who were familiar with its taste and took their allowance. In a short time the novelty wore off, and it occurred to some of the officers to issue to the men, instead of whisky, hot coffee, served just before going on picket and at intervals while on that duty in stormy weather, and their experience was decidedly against the whisky.

During daylight there was generally a sort of tacit truce between the opposing pickets. Once this was broken by us, and rather to our disadvantage. General Burns ordered a few sharp-shooters to go to the front and annoy the enemy. The day was Sunday, and the pickets were anticipating a quiet tour. When the sharp-shooters began their work, those on the posts were passing their time watching the effects of the shots. In a few minutes after the first discharge the enemy opened on our line with shrapnel, and did not cease firing until a number of our men were killed and wounded; among them Corporal Sellers and Emlen Ritter, of the Seventy-Second, killed, and a number of others of the same regiment badly wounded. This ended that sort of experiment while on this line.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE SEVEN DAYS' FIGHT.

It became evident in the latter part of June that our army could not remain in its present inactive position much longer. Our troops must either make an attack or receive one from the enemy. There were constant rumors of movements and sounds of distant battle that deepened this impression.

On the 27th of June, from early in the morning until two o'clock, heavy cannonading was heard on the right. Later in the day the roll of volleys of musketry, added to the boom of the artillery, sounding like the coming of a distant storm, gave evidence that Fitz John Porter was heavily engaged at Gainesville. Everything seemed as quiet as usual on our own front, not even a picket shot was fired, but all were on the alert, and more anxious than usual to know the character of the movements in the distance. During the afternoon General McClellan with his staff rode along the line, and he was greeted with loud cheers. This unusual excitement appeared to the enemy as if a movement of some character was intended by our division, and led to a severe artillery duel, followed by a heavy attack of infantry upon our pickets. The reserve force soon became engaged, and the enemy was repulsed. A Georgia officer, who was captured by

men of the brigade, stated that their loss was very severe. Among the casualties on our side was Sergeant Harry Donaldson, of the Seventy-Second, mortally wounded. This young man was a soldier of fine promise, and behaved well in the action.

A rumor now reached us, and was rapidly circulated, that Fitz John Porter had gained a victory. This intelligence the men seemed disposed to believe, notwithstanding the unusual operations going on about the camp, and they again broke out in cheers.

On the 28th, quartermasters began exerting their utmost to send all extra clothing and spare supplies to the railroad, for White House, while the wagons belonging to the trains were loaded with rations and ammunition. Hospitals were broken up, and the wounded and sick were transferred to Savage Station. Surgeons and their stewards busied themselves in preparing medical stores for the ambulances, and in their department as well as the others all seemed preparing for severe work.

During these preparations, a battery of rifled guns, commanded by Captain Franks, was ordered to report to General Burns, who placed it in position to strengthen our defenses. When the shotted salute of the enemy began, it had an opportunity to reply, and it was so well handled that it became quite a favorite subsequently with the men. A shot made by Captain Franks with one of these guns while stationed with the brigade was equal to the best sharp-shooting practice. A scout of the enemy, anxious to ascertain why our men were cheering and what the Yankees were doing, ascended a tree about one mile distant to take observations. A cannon was

sighted at the lookout, and the third shot carried away the poor fellow and his shelter.

The evening of June 28th brought true reports of the fighting that had been going on at the right. General Lee had matured his plans for striking a blow at McClellan, and had commenced their execution. His preparations were completed on the 25th of June, and on the next day A. P. Hill's Corps crossed the Chickahominy at Mechanicsville and drove a small force stationed there back to the main line on Beaver Dam Creek, near Ellison's Mills. At this place were posted General McCall's Pennsylvania Reserves, supported by Meade's Brigade and the division of Morell. The bridges over the creek had been destroyed, and a rifle-pit constructed on the eminence, protected by an abattis of felled timber. In this our men were concealed, and reserved their fire until the enemy had nearly approached, when they opened with a destructive volley, which quickly drove them back. Then an attempt was made to turn the left flank of our troops, which was equally unsuccessful. After this the fight continued at various points until late at night, when the battle of Mechanicsville was over.

The Reserves rested on their arms until early dawn, when they retired to a strong position near Gaines's Mill, between Cold Harbor and the Chickahominy. At this point they joined the Fifth Corps, under Fitz John Porter, and awaited the attack. This commenced by a movement of the Confederates under A. P. Hill in the afternoon, and raged with fury until night. At one time late in the day it seemed as if Porter's forces would be driven into the river, but relief came from the brigades of French and Meagher from the Second Corps.

These brigades had been hurriedly pushed forward, and upon their arrival at the field advanced with loud cheers, and, with the assistance of Porter's decimated regiments, retook the positions which the enemy had occupied, and held them until night.

It was the sound of this conflict that was heard during the 27th, and the result of which caused General McClellan to resolve to fall back from Richmond. That night Porter's exhausted troops were withdrawn to the other side of the river, and before daybreak on the 28th McClellan was on his way to Savage Station to superintend the preparations for the change of base to the James River.

The line of retreat adopted was by way of White Oak Swamp, the passage of which by means of its single road was an undertaking of great difficulty. By noon of the 28th Keyes's Corps, which led the advance, occupied strong positions on the opposite side to cover the crossing of troops and the immense trains of wagons and ambulances, and thousands of beef cattle. During the same night Porter's Corps crossed and advanced towards the James, while the corps of Heintzelman and Sumner, and Smith's Division of Franklin's Corps, received orders to cover the roads leading from Richmond, and also protect the depot at Savage Station.

On Sunday at four A.M., June 29th, Burns's Brigade was ordered to retire from the breastworks in front of Garnett's farm to join the division and march to Orchard Station, a point on the railroad about three miles to the rear. The pickets were instructed to remain on their posts as usual, and to use every exertion to prevent the enemy from ascertaining our movements. The officer

in charge of this line was directed to withdraw his men as soon as he received an order from the division commander, which would probably not be given before early dawn. This was an exceedingly delicate duty to perform, especially as daylight arrived before the pickets could be safely retired. Captain Roussel, of the Seventy-Second, in charge of the brigade detail, performed the operation with great credit, and, favored by a fog, succeeded in joining the brigade with his men without loss.

During the withdrawal of these pickets, there occurred a singular illustration of a fact that many soldiers have observed,—the irregular courage displayed by some few of their comrades. Just before dawn Captain Roussel ordered one of his officers to go to the videttes and bring them quietly back to the reserve. The man hesitated for a moment, and then turning to the captain said, “I am a coward and can’t do this work.” He was of course placed under arrest, and subsequently dismissed from the army. Until this period of his service this officer had behaved well, and possibly would have done so afterwards, but for the moment he became a coward physically, although, strange to say, he had the moral courage to acknowledge it publicly. There were some few in every command who occasionally acted like this man, but without his candor; and when the soldiers were taught by experience to know the amount of fortitude and courage required on so many occasions, they were disposed to be merciful towards those unfortunates who occasionally failed to manifest these virtues.

On reaching Orchard Station the brigade joined the corps, which was formed in line of battle facing the rear. Soon after our arrival, and at about daylight,

General Sumner ordered a regiment back to reoccupy our former lines as an advanced picket. This duty was intrusted to the Seventy-First, under Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Jones. When Colonel Jones's pickets reached the woods where the battle ended on May 31st, he captured two prisoners, the advance of the Confederate skirmishers, and soon discovered the enemy in force in our deserted rifle-pits; and they at the same moment began to advance on him. In conjunction with these, another body of Confederates came down the railroad in front of the regiment, advanced on the left of the Seventy-First, and forced this regiment back. Colonel Jones then retired to a favorable position on the left of the woods, behind Allen's house, where he re-formed and received them in splendid order, and the fight was continued for some time, when reinforcements for the enemy arriving in large numbers compelled the Seventy-First to fall back again; this time fighting through the woods until they came to the edge of a field in front of the line of battle formed by the corps.

The batteries of Pettit and Hazzard now went into action, and as the Confederates advanced they were met by a severe fire of artillery. This contest lasted for an hour, and at times with a great amount of determination on both sides, but our forces at length compelled the enemy to retire. During the battle the other regiments of the brigade acted as supports, and were exposed to a heavy fire without being engaged.

Of this affair at Peach Orchard General Burns reports: "The Seventy-First, under its gallant young lieutenant-colonel, won high encomiums from the corps commander, who knows what fighting means."



The reported loss of the Seventy-First in this action was ninety-six killed and wounded.

At noon the Second Corps was ordered to fall back about two miles farther to Savage Station. Part of this movement was made on a double-quick, and, as the weather was very warm, some of the men were overcome by the heat, and, dropping by the roadside, were taken prisoners.

On arriving at the Station the Second Corps passed through the lines of General Heintzelman, who was lying there expecting an attack from the direction of Bottom's Bridge. By some misunderstanding this general moved his corps upon our arrival across the White Oak Swamp, leaving a gap of three-fourths of a mile between the Second Corps and Franklin. The enemy, under General Magruder, who were following us, were not slow to perceive this weakness in the line, and at half-past four P.M. made their appearance in the corner of the field to the left of the place where the corps was massed.

General Sumner ordered the Seventy-Second and One Hundred and Sixth Regiments to move back across the field about half a mile, and hold the woods between the Williamsburg road and the railroad. This movement was under the personal direction of General Burns, and, although executed with great promptness, was performed as deliberately as if on parade. Two companies from each regiment were deployed as skirmishers, and moved forward to the woods, while the regiments were forming in line under fire from the Confederate batteries. As the skirmishers entered the timber they found it filled with dense underbrush, and at the same time heard

the commands given by the officers of the opposing line advancing to attack. Our men were halted, and directed to open fire as soon as they caught a glimpse of the enemy or saw a movement in the bushes. In a few moments the firing began, and in order to uncover our line of battle the skirmishers retired to the open field, carrying with them a number of their dead and wounded comrades.

Before the two regiments had reached the edge of the woods, a scout informed General Burns that the enemy was approaching with a large force on the Williamsburg road. As both flanks were exposed, Burns applied to General Sumner for another regiment. Fortunately, the enemy did not attack until the First Minnesota had been thrown across the Williamsburg road with the left retired. The line was still not long enough to cover the ground, and the Seventy-Second was moved to the right and its right flank thrown back to cover the railroad, leaving a gap between it and the One Hundred and Sixth. Before these dispositions were completed, the enemy attacked with great fury. In the meanwhile their artillery fire had increased, and was answered by the batteries of Pettit, Osborn, and Bramhall.

The battle now raged along the entire line from the railroad to the Williamsburg road, but was gradually concentrated toward the weak point between the Seventy-Second and One Hundred and Sixth. Here the fire was terrific, the enemy forcing their way through the woods, flaunting their flags across the fence almost in the faces of our men. For a moment the line broke, but the gallant regiments re-formed and drove them back. A charge was now made by the First Brigade, which had

been sent to reinforce the line, and the enemy were driven in confusion from the woods.

While the battle was at its height, the Confederates made an attack, with a heavy ship gun mounted on a railway truck, upon the cars loaded with stores and ammunition. To prevent these falling into their hands they were set on fire, and as the flames reached the cartridges and shells the whole mass exploded with a deafening sound, and the dense smoke rose in the air like a huge column to an immense height.

The battle of Savage Station was over at seven o'clock, and was fairly a victory for our troops. The enemy had commenced the attack, and met with a bloody repulse. This was not accomplished without severe losses on our side. Owing to their position, Baxter's Regiment and that of Colonel Morehead suffered more heavily than the others. The Seventy-Second lost fifteen killed and a considerable number wounded; among the former, Captain Charles McGonigle, Company B, and among the latter, Lieutenant DeB. Shewell, who was mortally wounded. General Burns, the gallant brigade commander, received a bullet in his face while the contest was at its height, but, staunching the blood with a handkerchief, he continued on duty.

The Seventy-First was held in reserve along with the Seventh Michigan, looking to the flanks during the fight, while the Sixty-Ninth under Colonel Owen was similarly employed with the First Minnesota.

In this engagement, as well as in a number of subsequent actions, it was impossible to procure an accurate list of the casualties. Owing to the frequent change of regimental and company commanders by losses in action, rolls

could not be regularly kept, and only at occasional periods or at the end of a severe campaign, when the regimental and brigade returns were made out and compared with former reports, could the aggregate losses be ascertained. In the list of casualties among officers this difficulty was not so great, and when the losses are reported the names are generally given. The difficulty of tracing the history of the men was by no means confined to our command, it occurred throughout the army; whenever battles were fought, thousands perished by the bullet or dropped by the roadside, and in the report are described as "missing in action," or perhaps on some tablet in a cemetery are marked "unknown."

At nine P.M. "Old Sumner," who had held Magruder at bay like a mastiff defending his charge, again started his corps on the retreat to White Oak Swamp, leaving the hospital, with twenty-five hundred sick and wounded, to the tender mercies of the enemy. This was done by the order of General McClellan, and was one of the saddest incidents of the retreat. When it became known that the troops must leave these helpless fellows, some of whom had fallen only a few hours before, there were many hearts filled with sorrow, and as the brigade passed the hospital tents comrades rushed in to take a farewell leave of some familiar face, and to receive a message for loved ones at home.

This night-march was a dreary one; the roads were filled with infantry and artillery, and for the most part led through dense forests of swamp timber. We had gone but a short distance when the sky was overcast, and a thunder-storm set in, compelling us to struggle along in darkness only broken occasionally by a burning

wagon or caisson. At midnight the rain ceased, and the clouds breaking away we had the light of the stars to guide our lagging and weary footsteps. With scarce a halt the column pressed on toward the swamp, and save the tramp, tramp of the men and the rumble of artillery-wheels, there was an unusual absence of the noise incidental to a march. Occasionally some one would murmur, "My knapsack cuts my shoulder," and receive the reply, "You will forget all about it when you have your grandchildren on your knee;" but, with the exception of some few exchanges like this, the men were quiet, and, grasping their pieces, seemed to think of the work of the coming day.

At daylight on June 30th we reached the military bridge spanning the sluggish waters of White Oak Swamp. General Richardson was standing by the road with his coat unbuttoned and sleeves rolled up, superintending the crossing and urging the troops forward. The moment our brigade had crossed, with the rear-guard, the frail structure was cut away, but not a minute too soon to gain time for defense, as the cavalry of the enemy were on our heels.

Leaving Richardson's and Smith's Divisions with the batteries of Ayres and Hazzard to dispute the passage of the swamp, our corps moved on about two miles farther, to Glendale, or Nelson's farm. There, at the junction of the Long Bridge and the Quaker City road, along which our troops were retreating, were stationed the Pennsylvania Reserves. Sedgwick's Division was massed in an open field to the right of Hooker's Division, and to the left and rear of the artillery. In this position the soldiers stretched themselves on the ground to rest,

and, while listening to the heavy cannonading at White Oak Swamp, began to speculate as to the next move in the change of base.

They had not long to wait. Shortly after one o'clock firing began on the picket-line in front of McCall's position, and at half-past three he was furiously attacked by the enemy in heavy force, and the battle of Glendale opened.

The first charge of the Confederates was repulsed by a counter-charge of the Reserves, and they in turn were driven back by fresh troops of the enemy. Backward and forward these lines were swaying for nearly two hours. Guns were taken and retaken by both forces amid terrible slaughter, till finally Randall's Battery was captured by a charge of two Confederate regiments advancing with trailed arms. They rushed up to the muzzles of the guns, a hand-to-hand fight ensued, and the regiment supporting it was driven back, when they seized the battery.

Meanwhile a renewed attack on the left flank of Seymour's Brigade was also successful, and the enemy, pushing on, drove the retreating troops between Hooker and Sedgwick. Here they were caught in turn by Hooker's fire on the flank, and, driven across Sedgwick's front, they were struck by McCall's centre, which with his right had held their position. The battle was now fought desperately on both sides. While the enemy was pushing on his masses, Hooker's Division had joined in the fight with McCall and was becoming hotly engaged.

At this point General Burns states in his report, "At the request of General Hooker, General Sumner for-

warded Colonel Owen to the right of Hooker's first line, and sent Colonel Morehead in reserve of General Hooker's right. I was directed to lead Baxter to the woods on the right of the field, through which McCall's left retreated, as the enemy seemed to be moving that way to rid themselves of the terrible fire of Kirby's Battery, which swept the field."

The Sixty-Ninth had scarcely been placed in position by Hooker, when another heavy attack broke through McCall's centre and sent the fugitives flying to the rear. The enemy pressed on in large numbers, and when within fifty yards of the Sixty-Ninth they were brought to a halt by a volley from their muskets. At this critical moment an order was quickly given by Colonel Owen to fix bayonets and charge the enemy, which was done most gallantly. General Burns says officially, "Colonel Owen's Sixty-Ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, unsupported, pursued the victorious rebels back over the ground through which they were passing, and crowned the crest of the hill where McCall had lost his artillery. Gallant Sixty-Ninth! The line followed this noble example, and McCall's position was held and the enemy discomfited."

While the Sixty-Ninth was moving forward to this position, the One Hundred and Sixth, which had been ordered to its support, was led to the extreme left by General Hooker in person, and joined with the Excelsior Brigade in holding that portion of the line.

By direction of General Sumner the Seventy-First Pennsylvania and the Nineteenth Massachusetts were placed in support of the first line, in connection with the Seventy-Second, already in position in the woods on

the right. While perfecting these dispositions an attack was made on the left centre, and the New York regiment holding that portion of the front line broke away, allowing the enemy to advance through the gap. The Seventy-First Pennsylvania and the Nineteenth Massachusetts were thrown into the breach. Burns says, "Nobly did they redeem the faults of their comrades. These two noble regiments met the enemy face to face, and for nearly an hour poured into them such tremendous volleys that no further attack was had at that vital point."

It was now dark, and this desperately-fought battle was over. During its continuance there were periods when it seemed as if the result was very doubtful, but our forces were generally enabled to hold their ground or quickly recover any portion that had been lost. It was the good fortune of the brigade to be placed in posts of honor, and to merit from the brigade commander the report, "Colonels Baxter, Owen, Morehead, and Lieutenant-Colonel Jones fulfilled my utmost expectations. I repeat my assertion at Fair Oaks: I am satisfied with the conduct of my brigade,—none will gainsay it."

During the battle General Burns won the highest praise and the enthusiastic admiration of his men. Wherever the fight seemed to be the hottest, there was Burns with his face stained with blood, cheering and rallying the men. At the time some of the Reserves were temporarily repulsed, and were falling back through our lines, he rode into their midst, and by his appeals to their pride succeeded in stopping their retreat and turning their faces again toward the enemy.



The loss of the brigade in the action of Glendale is unknown, but could not have been heavy. The Sixty-Ninth, which was more exposed than the others, reported seven killed, twenty-two wounded, and five taken prisoners.

From the succession of desperate charges made by the enemy rushing on our batteries, which poured volleys of case-shot and shrapnel into their ranks, they must have lost very heavily. Long after dark their torches could be seen in the woods before our line searching for the wounded.

At midnight the rear-guard of the army again started towards the James. As the enemy were directly in front, the movement had to be executed with care. Each regiment in turn, quietly leaving its position, moved into the road over which the army had passed. The pickets remained on their posts for an hour longer, and while waiting for the order to join the column listened with sad hearts to the groans of the wounded, mingled with the soft hum of insects and the cries of the whippoorwill.

The morning of July 1st found the Army of the Potomac concentrated on Malvern Hill, a strong position near the James River. Here the whole of the trains, ambulances, and siege-guns were sheltered. As the worn-out troops reached this elevation and saw the river with the Monitors ready for action, they threw their knapsacks on the ground and laid down to rest, believing that this day would pass without a fight.

Each division upon its arrival was placed in line of battle. Porter's Corps, with the artillery reserve, held the left, with Couch's Division on his right. Next to

Couch were Kearney and Hooker; next Sedgwick and Richardson; next Smith and Slocum; then the remainder of Keyes's Corps, forming a curved line extending to the river. Most of the ground in front of our lines to the right was wooded, and it was protected by slashings, while the left flanks were protected by gunboats.

In this position at seven A.M. our troops were resting, some having fallen asleep the moment arms were stacked, when the enemy suddenly opened on us with an enfilading fire of artillery, and the preliminary movements of the battle of Malvern Hill began.

Until after two o'clock the fighting was principally between the batteries of the two armies, enlivened occasionally with a noisy affair on the skirmish line. During this first conflict of artillery the brigade supported a battery, and in doing so was subjected to a heavy cross-fire, but, with the exception of two men killed, it sustained no loss. When the Confederates commenced the infantry attack at three o'clock against Porter on the left, and made repeated charges on the three tiers of batteries of the reserve artillery, we were ordered to protect the right flank of the army. From our elevated position we could overlook most of the operations going on at the left, and as we heard the loud cheers of our troops engaged, and saw each repulse of the enemy, the unpleasant remembrance of the struggles and marches of the last few days was almost lost in the thoughts of victory.

At nine P.M. our division fell into line and marched a short distance on the Malverton road towards Richmond. The men were in the best of spirits, and as one said to another "We've done retreating,—McClellan is

going to Richmond!" the desire to advance became contagious. After halting a half-hour an officer rode up to our general with an order, and we were moved again; this time with our backs to the enemy. The disappointment was a sad one, and some of the men could scarcely restrain their tears. After the three-months' campaign on the Peninsula, with all its privations, the perils of battle, and the wearisome fatigue of the march, to make a retreat when victory seemed within the grasp required all the fortitude of men to exhibit the obedience of soldiers.

Dispositions had been made through the day for the reception of the various corps at Harrison's Landing, on the James River, seven miles from Malvern. There was but one road leading to this place, and it was totally unequal to the passage of a large army in one night, and to facilitate the march every by-path and wood track had been explored by cavalry during the day, and was now made use of by the troops.

Soon after the movement began we had one of the thunder-storms that appear to be coincident with a great battle, and this added very seriously to the embarrassments of the march. All the night the "grand army" was struggling along through the rain and mud; the artillery and wagons occupying the roads, and the infantry moving on either side in the fields or through the woods. Occasionally squads of men, tired of stumbling through the bushes, would try the road, only to be jostled back again by passing teams or cavalry.

There were so many obstacles and delays on this night-march that, although the distance was but short, it was long after daylight when the last of the columns reached

the landing. Sedgwick's Division was located in a large wheat-field, and the moment the regiments broke ranks the men gathered the straw for resting-places, and, with perfect indifference to the rain, or even to the sound of the cannon firing on the rear-guard, laid down to sleep, perhaps to dream of the future.

## CHAPTER IX.

### POPE'S CAMPAIGN.

THE 4th of July, 1862, found the different corps of the Army of the Potomac established in camps within the radius of five miles from Harrison's Landing, on the James. So far as the result of the recent operations of this campaign could be interpreted by the soldiers, the advance on Richmond, for the present at least, had come to an inglorious termination. In spite, however, of the depression existing among the troops incidental to this failure, there was a feeling of congratulation among them upon the bearing of the army during the movements, which was well expressed in the address of General McClellan issued this day :

“SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,—Your achievements of the last ten days have illustrated the valor and endurance of the American soldier. Attacked by superior forces, and without the hope of reinforcements, you have succeeded in changing your base of operations by a flank movement, always regarded as the most hazardous of military expedients. You have saved all your material, all your trains, and all your guns except a few lost in battle; and you have taken in return guns and colors from the enemy. Upon your march

you have been assailed day after day with desperate fury, by men of the same race and nation, skillfully massed and led. Under every disadvantage of numbers, and necessarily of position also, you have in every conflict beaten back your foes with enormous slaughter. Your conduct ranks you among the celebrated armies of history. No one will now question that each of you may always with pride say, 'I belonged to the Army of the Potomac!' On this, our nation's birthday, we declare to our foes, who are rebels against the best interests of mankind, that this army shall enter the capital of this so-called Confederacy; that our national constitution shall prevail; and that the Union, which alone can insure internal peace and external security to each State, 'must and shall be preserved,' cost what it may in time, treasure, and blood."

For a general description of the entire campaign, we were dependent upon the accounts published by the press of the country. As to that portion of the operations in which the Second Corps was directly engaged, there was no need to supplement experience with congratulatory orders or details from journals, however carefully written.

It is to be hoped that the most ignorant among the soldiers of that gallant corps did not possess the egotism that would lead him to suppose that his corps was composed of better material, or had exhibited more endurance or heroism than the other commands of the army, and in the announcement that the Second Corps was always victorious in the Seven Days' Fight, we mean to institute no envious comparison. Armies, as well as

individuals, are subject to the Providence which watches over and directs the movements of men, and it fell to our lot to meet success.

At the close of the battle of Gaines's Mills, on the 27th, the brigades of Meagher and French, of the Second Corps, arriving at the moment when all seemed lost, drove the enemy and restored the lines. On the 29th, when it came the turn of the corps to join in the flank movement, the enemy were twice handsomely repulsed: in the morning at Peach Orchard, by the Seventy-First and Fifty-Third; and in the afternoon at Savage Station, by the Philadelphia Brigade, aided by the First. In this fight the enemy had four brigades, Cobb and Kershaw coming down the Nine-mile road, while Toombs and another advanced by the Williamsburg road. One of the Confederate commands—Cobb's Brigade—had twenty-seven hundred men engaged, of whom only fifteen hundred were able to enter the fight at Malvern Hill. At Glendale, the services of the corps, through the charge of the Sixty-Ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers and the firmness of the Seventy-First Pennsylvania and Nineteenth Massachusetts, were of the highest importance; while at the decided victory of Malvern Hill, Meagher's Irish Brigade of the old Second Corps fought most gallantly.

This historical monument upon which we are inscribing the achievements of the Second Corps would lack completeness without the name of the grand old leader, General Edwin V. Sumner, who, by his prompt decisions, swift movements in action, and indomitable perseverance, gave spirit and character to the corps, which it retained with his name long after he had left the command. In

action he always seemed to know the post of danger, and when necessary to expose himself never faltered. Jealous of his own reputation, he was equally thoughtful in awarding just credit to others; and while frank in acknowledging merit, he was careful that praise should not be wrongfully bestowed. At Glendale, when he turned Owen's regiment over to General Hooker, he said, "Hooker, this is your fight; place this regiment where you want it." And it is also stated, that after the arrival at Harrison's Landing, and after written reports were received at corps headquarters from subordinate commanders, there was one that finished the description of the movements with a complimentary allusion to the staff officers, adding the further remark that "Colonel —, who was absent on duty in New York, would no doubt have distinguished himself had he been present." General Sumner indorsed the report, "Respectfully returned. Fulsome adulation of absent officers cannot be permitted."

The journals that afforded us information about those portions of the campaign that we had not witnessed, were also filled with discussions about the ability, and even the patriotism of the army commander, General McClellan. A few of these papers went still further, and expressed doubts of his physical courage, as well as of his ability to command a large army. Upon the subject of General McClellan's strategic ability, critics will always differ, and as to the wisdom manifested in the Peninsular campaign, intelligent men can form a clearer opinion when the future historian shall have the opportunity to compare evidence and documents not yet given to the public with facts that are known, and submit the



whole truth to the world. A soldier who has been properly instructed and disciplined should shrink from attempting to criticise the orders or movements of his commanding officer; at the same time it is his duty to correct false reports regarding his personal bearing. The statement that General McClellan visited the Galena during portions of June 30th and July 1st is probably correct; but it is equally certain that he was seen with the Philadelphia Brigade during the heavy cannonading on the morning of July 1st at Malvern, and also in the afternoon, during the severe infantry and artillery fight, with Fitz John Porter.

The continuous strain and excitement of the last few days were succeeded by a sense of fatigue and loss of energy, and the state of the army was not improved by the climate, or by the location in which it was placed. Summer sickness was almost universal, though not of a type likely to prove dangerous. By means of steamers, supplies and medical stores were more easily obtained than at the former base, and the surgeons were generally faithful in their attention to both sick and wounded. In this branch of the service our brigade was fortunate. Surgeons Martin Rizer, of the Seventy-Second, John Eakin, Bernard McNeill, Justin Dwinelle, and others were attentive to their duties and popular with the men.

The Sanitary Commission, at this period of the war, had become so well organized that it was a power for accomplishing a great amount of good. The steamer John Brooks was kept continually plying back and forth to Washington, bringing stores and supplies that helped in many cases to facilitate the recovery of the sick, by

furnishing articles of food and nourishment not readily obtained from the medical stores of the army.

The attention of commanding officers was now given to the work of reorganizing the regiments, and filling positions made vacant by casualties. In our brigade, the Seventy-First, heretofore composed of fifteen companies, was reduced to ten, and the supernumerary officers were mustered out. General Burns, who was absent on leave, was temporarily succeeded by Colonel Baxter, who was the senior officer present.

The actual casualties of the brigade during the campaign on the Peninsula are not accurately reported, either in detail or aggregate; but while the loss in action was considerable, it is probable the number placed on the list of absent by reason of sickness was equally as large.

The loss reported by the army in killed, wounded, and missing from June 26th to July 1st, inclusive, was fifteen thousand two hundred and forty-nine; of this list there were two thousand one hundred and eleven belonging to the Second Corps.

While reorganization was in progress on the James, changes of an important character were made among the troops intrusted with the defense of Washington, both in their line of operations and in their commanding officers. The corps of McDowell—which the men so frequently expected to join them before Richmond—and the commands of Banks and Fremont were formed into one army, under Major-General John Pope. This Army of Virginia, as it was called, numbered about fifty thousand men, of whom about five thousand were cavalry.

General Pope assumed command of this force on the 28th of June, but did not take the field until near the

close of July, issuing his orders from Washington City. This delay was occasioned by the absence of Major-General Halleck, the new commander-in-chief, who arrived from the West on the 23d of July and assumed the direction of both armies.

On taking command, Pope issued an order containing some sentences that seemed at the time as if meant to reflect upon the commander of the Army of the Potomac. Speaking of his plans, he says, "I hear constantly of taking strong positions and holding them,—of lines of retreat and bases of supplies. Let us discard such ideas; success and glory are in the advance,—disaster and shame lurk in the rear." These and sentiments of a like character were published to the troops in the form of an address.

Without criticising the motive or the taste that prompted the issue of this or similar documents during the war to soldiers in the field, it is not presumptuous to say that the effect produced by their publication was of no practical value. If a general can inform his men that the enemy have met with a disaster in some of their fields of operation, or that reinforcements are on their way for his own army, or if he can convey any information of interest, it may inspirit his troops; otherwise he had better omit his bulletins.

The main divisions of the Army of Virginia were located at Culpeper Court-House and Fredericksburg about the latter part of July. Immediately after August 1st the Confederate army began to move towards the Rapidan on its way to the North. Its advance, driving back the cavalry picket at Raccoon Ford, crossed on the 8th of August. Pushing on the next day to

Cedar Mountain, the advance of Pope's army, under General Banks, was met, and a battle ensued, with severe losses on both sides. From this date commenced a series of engagements, some of them of considerable magnitude, which led to the gradual retreat of General Pope before Lee's army.

In the mean time President Lincoln had issued a call for three hundred thousand men for nine months' service, and at the same time General Halleck had issued an order for the withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula.

The entire month of July was one of inactivity at Harrison's Landing. On August 4th a reconnoissance in force was made to Malvern Hill, in which our brigade participated and acted as rear-guard on the return to camp.

Preliminary steps were now taken towards removal from this locality. The sick, numbering twelve thousand five hundred, were placed on transports and sent away; and the troops, with two days' rations in haversacks and six in the wagons, commenced moving on the retreat shortly after. Our corps left its old camp and its unwholesome surroundings, with its innumerable flies and worse insects, on August 16th. No matter what uncertainty might hang over the future, there was none among the command who looked upon the place on leaving it with tearful eyes.

After passing through the venerable old village of Charles City Court-House, and possibly carrying away some of its musty records, the Chickahominy was reached on the evening of the 18th. The river was crossed on a ponton bridge, one of the longest yet constructed, and

the march continued *via* Williamsburg to Yorktown, which we reached on the 20th at noon.

The brigade encamped at this familiar place, and, in addition to the opportunity afforded of visiting the old ground, the men had the luxury of a bath in the York River. The line of march was taken up the next day and continued *via* Big Bethel to a distance of five miles from Hampton, making a march of twenty miles. On the 22d we marched eight miles to Newport News, arriving at noon; the latter part of the journey was made through the drenching of a Peninsular thunder and rain storm.

The weather during the march from Harrison's Landing to Big Bethel was exceedingly hot, and the roads very dusty. During its continuance, the officers had a renewed experience of the difficulty of providing rations while on a march. Had it not been for the corn-fields, with the sweet roasting-ears along portions of the route, both men and officers would have suffered. All through the cultivated sections of this country the citizens appeared to have adopted the advice of Jefferson Davis, "to anticipate a long war, and plant, instead of tobacco, corn and wheat." For this unintentional hospitality they had the thanks of the Philadelphia Brigade, and after its visitation they no doubt realized the truth of the saying, "One soweth and another reapeth."

At one halting-place there was an amusing illustration of tactics as applied to foraging. The division halted for bivouac in front of an immense corn-field, which was surrounded by a post-and-rider fence. The men stacked arms, and the moment the order "Break ranks" was given, the entire body rushed for the roasting-

corn. At the full run details were made of comrades to secure rails for the fires, while others were selected to seize the corn ; and it seemed but a few minutes before there was not a stalk left standing, or a vestige of fence to be seen.

After being "ready to move" all the preceding night, the brigade was marched to the wharf on the 25th, and the Seventy-First embarked on one steamer while the other three regiments were placed on another,—both bound up the Potomac. The steamship *Baltic*, containing the three regiments, ran aground on the 27th, and the troops, after some delay, were transferred to another vessel, and arrived off Aquia Creek, where the vessel lay until A.M. of the 28th. Without being transhipped, the troops were ordered to Alexandria, where they landed at nine A.M., and joined the division in camp four miles outside of the town towards Fairfax Court-House.

Whatever opinion may be held about the addresses issued by General Pope to his troops, he expressed a truthful experience when he wrote, "disaster and shame lurk in the rear." If he had also said that the most depressing rumors and false reports are frequently circulated in the rear,—disheartening tales, which add to the "shame and disaster,"—he would have portrayed the state of things which we met upon our arrival at Alexandria.

The town was filled with stories of Pope's defeat and "terrible losses," and of the advance of an "immense Rebel force" towards the Potomac, and with other rumors of similar character. These reports are common, no doubt, to all armies, and frequently have their origin

with stragglers, who, scenting the danger from afar, sneak into the woods to refresh themselves while their fellows are fighting. The contempt in which these beings are held by the true soldier was well illustrated by an inscription placed upon a tree along the road over which our brigade was marching,—“Coffee-boilers take notice: the enemy have left the front.” Every skulker we met had the same story about his regiment being cut to pieces, until we began to regret that the enemy had not completed the work and whittled the stragglers.

At six P.M. on the 29th we were ordered to march towards Chain Bridge, a distance of twenty miles. At midnight, after accomplishing two-thirds of the distance, the brigade was halted, and slept by the roadside. The next morning we arrived at Chain Bridge, where the corps was massed with the promise of a day's rest. Taking advantage of this, a number of the soldiers indulged in the luxury of washing their shirts; while thus engaged heavy firing was heard towards Bull Run, and the command was ordered to “fall in” for a march. At noon the Second Corps started for Fairfax and Centreville, with many of the men in a semi-nude condition, and others almost barefooted, the ground cutting their feet at every step.

At noon of August 31st, after a march of forty miles, with only two hours' sleep and part of the distance through a rain-storm, the corps reached Centreville. During this severe march the men kept up wonderfully, and most of those who did fall from exhaustion rejoined their regiments before “Old Sumner” went into position.

The next day a reconnoissance was made by the division, the brigade being temporarily under the command

of General O. O. Howard. After moving three miles and encountering but little opposition, the expedition returned, having accomplished its purpose.

This night the army of Pope commenced retreating to the works about Washington, and the duty of rear-guard was assigned to Sedgwick's Division. We took a position on September 1st, near Chantilly, where the gallant Kearney had lost his life, and awaited the passage of the last of the column. At four o'clock our time came, and, as the division moved back slowly so as to give those ahead time to get out of the way, we had several lively skirmishes with the enemy, who were following. Towards dusk General Sully, commanding the First Brigade, became tired of this, and made use of his experience among the Indians. Using the Philadelphia Brigade as a decoy, he formed an ambush with the First Minnesota. Upon the advance of the unsuspecting enemy they met a severe volley, that stopped any further annoyance.

At midnight the division arrived at Langley's, near Chain Bridge, well-nigh exhausted; some of the men were almost asleep while walking along the road, and others were giddy from loss of rest and lack of food.

On the 2d of September our corps crossed the Potomac to Tenallytown, and Pope's campaign ended.



## CHAPTER X.

### ANTIETAM.

THE Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment, of Sedgwick's Division, was so well drilled by its officers, that when in position of line of battle the color-sergeant and right and left general guides were ordered to indicate a new alignment some distance from the old one, facing either flank or rear, and the command was given, "Break ranks and form on the color," the men would instantly rush in an apparently disordered mass and assume their places in the new formation. This was done so perfectly that on more than one occasion it was necessary to give the order "By the right flank," after the line was re-formed, to convince a general officer that the men actually had their proper positions.

In spite of the disorganized appearance of the troops and the disheartening circumstances attending their gathering about the defenses at Washington, there existed among them sentiments of duty and lofty patriotism, joined to a firm determination to sustain the honor of the flag wherever it might lead, or in whatever position it might call them to be placed. To move forward at the call of duty, only the voice of a leader was needed.

President Lincoln, who had the wonderful gift of doing what the present good of the service demanded,

regardless of the prejudices of those around him, and sometimes without considering his own personal feelings, directed the issuing of the following order :

“ WASHINGTON, September 2d, 1862.

“ GENERAL ORDER No. 122.

“ Major-General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all the troops for the defense of the Capital.

“ By command of Major-General HALLECK.

“ E. D. TOWNSEND, A. A. G.”

No matter what may be the opinion of military critics concerning General McClellan, no one can successfully deny the fact that his name was a talisman at this time with the soldiers, and that upon the issuing of this order there was unusual satisfaction.

The work of reorganizing a compact force out of the remnants of the two armies was begun at once, and continued while on the march. Burnside's Ninth Corps was added, and placed under the command of General Reno; and the First Corps, McDowell's old command, was placed under General Hooker. General Sumner, while retaining the Second Corps, had control of the Twelfth, Banks's old command, which was under the veteran General Mansfield. General H. J. Hunt took command of the reserve artillery, in which position he was retained until the end of the war. The cavalry were placed under General Pleasonton. This new arrangement formed an effective force, ready to take the field in the Maryland campaign, of eighty-seven thousand men of all arms.

The Philadelphia Brigade remained under the command of General O. O. Howard during the continued absence of General Burns. All of the regiments had received additions to their effective strength by the return of officers and men who were convalescent from wounds or sickness. Among the former, Colonel Isaac J. Wistar, now partially recovered from his wounds at Ball's Bluff, resumed command of the Seventy-First, having for his lieutenant-colonel John Markoe, who had been promoted June 1st.

In the Seventy-Second, Captain Samuel Roberts, a faithful and reliable officer, was promoted major, his company (A) being under command of a young officer of fine promise, Lieutenant Adolphus W. Peabody, who had just returned for duty. There were also promotions among some of the non-commissioned officers of companies, to fill vacancies in each regiment.

The brigade was in good condition, and, although numerically weaker, compared with the roster at the time of landing on the Peninsula, it had increased its effectiveness by the rough experiences of war. "It would still perform," as Burns used to say, "what was expected of it."

While cheerful anticipations of the future of the army and increased enthusiasm were being manifested, the troops could not refrain from contrasting their position this day, September 2d, with that of the month preceding. At that time the two great armies of the Union were threatening Lee from different points, and he was the defender of the Confederate capital. To-day the same armies are crouching under the guns of the defenses at Washington; one of them foiled in its advance and the other disastrously defeated.

Although this transformation had not taken place without the infliction of great losses upon the enemy, our armies had suffered in casualties to as great an extent, and in the material of war the destruction far exceeded theirs. Every regiment had been depleted by sickness, wounds, and death, and in our brigade as in others, hundreds of comrades, who started from Washington for the Peninsula with as bright hopes of success as those who to-day survive, had left the armies of earth forever. These blasted hopes, sundered ties, and homes made desolate are only a portion of the desolation inflicted by the demon of disunion.

On the day that McClellan assumed command of the army, General Lee was joined by a fresh division from Richmond. This command, under D. H. Hill, was pushed forward to Leesburg, and soon the whole Confederate army, after making a slight feint in the direction of Chain Bridge, moved towards the Upper Potomac, where crossings were made by the fords between Nolen's Ferry and Point of Rocks.

On September 8th, General Lee issued an appeal to the citizens of Maryland to throw off the "foreign yoke" and enjoy "the rights of freemen." In this paper, while invoking the people "to restore the independence and sovereignty of the State," he gave every assurance that he had the power to assist them "in regaining their rights." This address was met with coldness by the majority of the people of Western Maryland, and in spite of Confederate entreaties, be it said to the honor of the citizens of this section, they stood aloof from the enemy.

The advance of General McClellan was made on five

different roads, the columns being so disposed as to cover at the same time the cities of Baltimore and Washington. The left flank rested on the Potomac, and the right on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The right wing, consisting of the First and Ninth Corps, was under General Burnside; the centre, of the Second and Twelfth, under General Sumner; and the left wing under General Franklin.

The Second Corps left Tenallytown at noon on the 4th, and marched ten miles, halting at night near Rockville. The next day a position was assumed a short distance beyond the town, where the command remained for a few days. After resuming the forward movement by way of Clarksburg, the corps was halted at noon of the 11th, on an eminence overlooking Hyattstown. This place was found in possession of a small force of the enemy, and Sedgwick, who led the column, detailed the Seventy-First Regiment to advance as skirmishers and occupy the village. This was quickly done, the enemy retiring to the hill beyond and taking another position, from which they were also speedily driven. The regiment was now reinforced by the First Minnesota, along with a section of artillery, and directed to maintain itself, which it did during the night with constant skirmishing. At daylight the enemy retired, and the entire corps came up and moved forward in pursuit.

On the 14th, Sumner's column passed through Frederick, and was greeted by the loyal citizens of the place with a reception as handsome as it was unexpected. Flags that had been concealed while the enemy held possession, now decorated the dwellings and were waving along with the emblem that made Barbara Freitchie

historical ; and on the streets by which the army entered the people pressed forward to greet the soldiers with expressions of warmest sympathy.

These patriotic manifestations were not confined to the town of Frederick, but frequently along the line of march through this portion of Maryland the inhabitants gave the strongest evidence of attachment to the Union cause. Ladies of all ages and stations in life stood by the roadside, in front of their dwellings, with pails of milk, or, if the supply had been exhausted, a cup of cold water and a word of cheer ; while the men who had been spared by the Confederate army that had preceded us were always ready to give information of value.

After passing through Frederick and halting for a short time, Sumner again pushed on towards South Mountain. The sound of the battles in progress at Turner's Gap and Crampton's Pass had the usual influence on the "old soldier" of increasing his speed towards the front. Generals Sumner and Sedgwick were so noted for rapid movements, when advancing towards a conflict, that the men used to say that their commanders, who were both cavalry officers, had forgotten their troops were not mounted.

It was late in the evening when the column reached Turner's Gap, and by that time the fight was over. During the march through the day we could continually see the smoke of the musketry and the exploding shells of the forces engaged in conflict on the side of the mountain.

At one A.M. on the 15th, we pushed forward to a point near Boonsboro' Gap, and, although the distance was but six miles, the march was exhausting on account

of the roughness of the road and the fatigued condition of the men from continuous marching and loss of sleep. At noon our division was again sent forward, through Boonsboro' and Keedysville, halting one mile beyond the latter point, having reached the main force of the Confederate army at about dark.

At daylight of the 16th, a few shells whizzed over our heads from the Confederate line of battle, on Antietam Creek. This stream, made famous by one of the bloodiest battles of the war, is of no great size ; it flows through a very beautiful valley, and empties into the Potomac six miles above Harper's Ferry. It is spanned by four turnpike or stone bridges, three of which the enemy had strongly guarded, and it has but few fords that can be crossed by artillery or wagons. In this well-selected position General Lee had determined to collect his scattered forces and give battle to the Union army.

At dawn of the 16th, the Confederate artillery opened a very heavy fire upon our batteries and on some portions of our line.

There was no infantry engagement except the usual sharp-shooting practice, until the afternoon. At two o'clock, McClellan seemed to be ready, after considerable delay, and Hooker commenced the movement by crossing the Antietam near the upper bridge. With the divisions of Ricketts, Meade, and Doubleday, he attacked the Confederate left, evidently intending to turn their position. General Sumner was directed to second this operation by throwing over the stream during the night the Twelfth Corps, under General Mansfield, and to hold the Second Corps ready to move at daylight on the next morning. In this operation Hooker was successful, having struck

the enemy, and after a severe fight, which was begun by the Pennsylvania Reserves and lasted until night, he drove them back. Hooker's advance rested on their arms through the night, in the position they had taken. During the evening General Mansfield executed his order, and crossed the Antietam with his command, bivouacking about one mile to the rear of Hooker.

Just before dark the men of Sedgwick's Division were furnished with eighty rounds of ammunition, and ordered to be prepared to move early the next morning. Both armies lay down to rest with the expectation of a severe engagement on the coming day ; and no doubt to many on both sides, pictures of homes at the North or in the sunny South, and pleasant scenes, with the greeting of familiar faces, were recalled by memory before sleep closed the eyelids on the night before the battle.

The morning of September 17th dawned with a clear sky upon the scene of conflict, and by the time the sun had risen the Second Corps had made every preparation to advance. The men had piled their knapsacks in heaps on the ground which they had occupied, and, with every thing likely to encumber them laid aside, and in light marching order, they were ready for the fight.

The battle was opened at daylight by Hooker, who made a vigorous attack on Stonewall Jackson, holding the Confederate left. His first object was to push the enemy back from his front and seize the Hagerstown road and the woods about the Dunker church, in which the Confederate line was placed. After an obstinate fight, lasting an hour, and during which our batteries assisted materially by an enfilading fire, the three brigades of the enemy were driven out of the woods imme-



diately in front of Hooker, across a corn-field, towards the Hagerstown road, losing half of their number. General Hooker then advanced his centre, to seize the road and the woods beyond. In this movement our troops were met by the reserve of Jackson's Division with a murderous fire. This body of the enemy in large numbers issued from the woods and fell heavily on Meade's Brigades in the corn-field, which brigades were much broken. To support Meade, General Hartsuff's Brigade was sent in by Hooker, and in passing over the field it was met by a severe fire.

In the mean time the second line, under Mansfield, was moved up from the position in which it had bivouacked to the support of Hooker's Brigade. While it was deploying, the veteran commander—General Mansfield—was mortally wounded. The command of the corps now devolved on General Williams, and the division of the latter on General Crawford, who, with his brigade and that of General Gordon, advanced across this hotly-contested corn-field and seized part of the coveted woods on the Hagerstown road. At the same time the second division of Mansfield's Corps, under General Greene, cleared its front, and advanced to the left of the Dunker church.

All these movements of Hooker and his supports were attended with heavy loss, and just as the troops were beginning to falter, and General Hooker was being carried severely wounded from the field, the Second Corps, under General Sumner, arrived on the ground.

After being prepared for action since daylight, the Second Corps at eight o'clock was ordered to move to the front; starting from Keedysville towards the right,

through some woods, then down a hill to the Antietam Creek, which the men waded, taking care to keep their ammunition above the rushing water. The point of crossing was at the first ford above bridge number one. On the other side of the stream we ascended a hill, then through the open country to the right, until Miller's house was reached, where line of battle was formed by the left flank while marching.

The division of Sedgwick had the right of the corps ; then came French, then Smith. The First Brigade had the right of our division, and was supported by the Second, under command of General O. O. Howard, in the following order: One Hundred and Sixth on the right, then the Sixty-Ninth and Seventy-Second, with the Seventy-First on the left.

From the place the brigade had formed its line of battle to the point of attack was nearly one mile. All of this distance was moved over in battalion front, the movement bringing us through pieces of woods, across fences, through barn-yards and other obstacles, which continually threw the line in confusion. In addition to this we were subjected to a heavy artillery fire from the enemy ; but, in spite of all opposition, the advance never stopped until the fatal corn-field was reached. Advancing over this field, where the dead and dying of both sides lay scattered, and passing in one place almost an entire Confederate line of battle lying still in death, the Hagerstown road was finally reached. Here General Sedgwick gave the command, "Push into the woods."

At this moment the left of the brigade was on the road near the Dunker church. Our own troops, already

engaged and gallantly fighting, on this line were the two brigades of Crawford and Gordon. The men of the Second Brigade sprang over the fence, and, crossing the road, leaped over the fence on the other side and entered the woods, at once coming under a terrific fire. The place in which we had entered was filled with an outcropping of large boulders, and was heavily wooded, but without undergrowth. On the side of the woods towards the enemy the ground was depressed, and beyond this was a ridge, from which batteries were directing a severe fire upon our brigade over the heads of their troops. The fight now raged with extreme violence, but the men seemed in the best of spirits and were confident of victory.

At the time our division was thus engaged, French, on our left, had been ordered to attack, and the battle was being desperately fought on the ground about the Dunker church.

The line on which the Second Brigade was fighting was oblique to the Hagerstown road, and from its location, and especially that of the regiments engaged in the woods, nothing could be seen of the connections on either flank. The men stood their ground well, and, feeling sure of their duty, looked to the front, firing as rapidly as they could load.

Shortly after French became heavily engaged, General Sumner rode into the woods, where the contest was most severe, and gave a command. The noise of the battle was so deafening that only those about him could hear his words; but, presuming he meant to "charge," the men began to fix their bayonets. The general now rode among them and repeated, "Fall back; you are in a bad

position." This order was obeyed, but with great reluctance, some of the men, for fear they might receive a wound in the back, retiring with their faces towards the enemy. On emerging from the woods we found that Sumner was right: there was a gap between our left and the right of French's Division, through which the enemy had pushed a body of fresh troops, and these were turning our flank. This accounted also for the number of balls that were beginning to reach us from a new direction. For the first time in its history Sedgwick's Division was compelled to retire before the enemy; but, under the circumstances, we felt it to be no disgrace to yield to the judgment and obey the command of the brave old Sumner.

The regiments of the brigade fell back at about ten o'clock, and on different lines. Some of them took positions at a fence on the other side of the corn-field, where they did effective service, along with a battery of Napoleon guns, in stopping the Confederate advance.

After the repulse of Sedgwick's Division, the heavy fighting on the right was virtually over; but it was continued on the left with heavy losses and varying success until night-fall. Darkness closed the struggle along the entire line, and the murderous battle of Antietam was over.

The engagement, although a victory in its results for the Union army, was attended with such terrible losses to both sides that it had the effect of a drawn battle. It has truly been said, "it was fought by driblets." The contest seldom involved the whole line at one time, but was confined, at different periods of the day, to localities. This sort of tactics enabled either party to concentrate

fresh forces against the exhausted troops of the other and inflict heavy losses.

Of the troops engaged on the right, the Second Division suffered probably the most. It had hardly come under fire before General Sedgwick was carried from the field severely wounded, and the command devolved on General Howard. The losses in the brigade were very heavy, but they are not officially given. The general estimate of casualties made by the compiler of "Bates's Military History" is one-third the number engaged. From reports of company officers and other testimony this is probably not far from correct.

Among the killed were Captain Francis V. Bierwith and Lieutenants Joseph McHugh and James Dunn, of the Sixty-Ninth; Lieutenants John Convery and William Wilson, Seventy-First; Captain Peter H. Willetts and Lieutenants Adolphus W. Peabody and Robert I. Parks, Seventy-Second; Captain Timothy Clark and Lieutenant William Bryan, One Hundred and Sixth. Among the field-officers who were severely wounded was the gallant Colonel Wistar, commanding Seventy-First, who had only rejoined his regiment a few days before; Major Devereaux, Sixty-Ninth, was also wounded under similar circumstances, and a number of line officers were struck, and others made very narrow escapes. Colonel Morehead, of the One Hundred and Sixth, had his horse shot under him, and was severely injured by his fall. Adjutant Pleis, of the same regiment, while advancing in line had his horse killed by a round shot.

The few names that are given of the commissioned officers who suffered, tell only a fragment of the story. There were brave hearts in the ranks, as well as among

the officers, who went to their death fearlessly, and over whose memories loving friends have not ceased to mourn. Especially sorrowful was the death of Edmund Y. Collier, a private in the Seventy-Second. Mr. Collier was a young Englishman of very respectable connections, who was visiting in this country when the Rebellion broke out. With warm sympathy for the Union, he enlisted as a private, and in this battle fell mortally wounded; so near the enemy that his body was not recovered for hours afterwards.

On the 18th, neither party seemed anxious to renew the fight, and the day was spent by our army in collecting the troops, attending to the wants of the wounded within our lines, and preparing for the morrow. That night Lee gathered his scattered forces, and in the darkness crossed the Potomac, yielding all hope of further aiding Maryland in "throwing off its foreign yoke."

It is difficult to ascertain the casualties of the forces engaged in the battle of Antietam; but from the appearance of the field on the 19th of September, the losses of the enemy were much heavier than ours. For three days after the retreat of Lee, our corps remained in this vicinity, and was engaged in burying the dead. Along the line, where Meagher's Irish Brigade had charged, there was a large number of dead, those of the enemy preponderating. This was the case also where Richardson had been engaged. In the corn-field, the scene of repeated encounters, dead of both armies were scattered over the ground; the large majority being Confederates. Intermingled with the slain were cattle that had been killed while pasturing.

In the woods near the Hagerstown road, where the

Philadelphia Brigade suffered so severely, our losses exceeded those of the enemy. These poor fellows had died in all sorts of positions; some lying on their faces, others leaning against the rocks, and one man, a Confederate, was resting on his knees, with his eyes wide open and his hands grasping his rifle. On the slope, where the fire of our brigade had been directed, were one hundred and twenty dead Confederates who had been prepared for burial before their army had retreated.

Similar scenes were witnessed all over the field of action on the right, and it seemed as though the firing had been unusually effective. Where the artillery of our wing had full sweep, the slaughter was very severe. On one piece of ground near the Hagerstown road, almost an entire regiment of the enemy, in line of battle, were lying dead in two ranks, killed evidently while advancing to charge.

With the exception of that portion of the ground at Malvern, in front of Porter's batteries, this battle-field presented more carnage than we had yet witnessed; and with hearts made heavy by these sights, we moved away from the scene.

The only consolidated returns of the strength of the brigade at this period, that are on file in the War Department, give the following aggregate of men and officers; and the difference between the numbers present at the two periods includes the losses on the Peninsula and in the battle of Antietam:

	MARCH, 1862.		SEPTEMBER 30th, 1862.	
	Present and Absent.	Total Present.	Present and Absent.	Total Present.
69th P. V.	879	726	737	486
71st P. V.	1002	904	820	510
72d P. V.	1289	1215	1197	681
106th P. V.	811	779	728	492
	3981	3624	3482	2169



## CHAPTER XI.

### HARPER'S FERRY.

WITH the exception of a questionable movement by a detachment of Porter's Corps, which crossed the Potomac and attacked the Confederate rear-guard only to be repulsed and driven into the river, there was no immediate pursuit of the enemy by our forces. For some days after the battle, both armies acted as though they had enough fighting for the present and wanted rest. General Lee pursued his course leisurely down the Shenandoah Valley, while McClellan lingered about the scenes of his recent exploits.

Lieutenant Shewall, of the Seventy-Second, who was mortally wounded at Savage Station, and whose loss was sincerely regretted by a host of friends in the brigade, was an excellent actor and mimic. During the winter in camp, he frequently amused the officers with his illustrations of prominent characters, and one of these was particularly suggestive of some experiences of army movements and grand tactics, as seen from our limited sphere of observation.

As represented by Shewall, the chief of the army stationed in Washington had in his office an immense topographical map of the seat of war suspended against the wall. Upon the surface of this chart the positions

of the different corps and detachments were indicated by means of small wafers, fixed with pins easily inserted and removed from one locality to another. On each of these was inscribed the name of a command and the officer in charge. To accomplish movements in a campaign while the chief remained in his chair, it was only necessary to give directions to a page by means of an indicator, and the transposition took place. For example: If General McClellan's army was at Alexandria, it could by this means be removed to Centreville at once, or even carried farther down the map, without waiting for transportation. This mythical plan worked as well as could be expected, except that occasionally a corps would be lost by the wafer becoming detached, or, what was worse, by being stuck, through the carelessness of the medium, into the wrong place.

Whether either of these misfortunes had occurred to Sumner's Corps, it was not the province of subalterns to inquire, but for some good reason no movement took place until the 22d of September. At five A.M. on this day we moved away from the battle-field of Antietam, and, passing through Sharpsburg, reached the Potomac. General Williams, on the advance, seized Maryland Heights, and the Second Corps forded the river at Harper's Ferry, and, pushing out to Bolivar, re-occupied the place.

Here we were destined to spend all the beautiful month of October, the entire Army of the Potomac being located in this vicinity, and occupied in refitting and preparing for an active campaign, until the chief was ready to move on the enemy. Within five days after the battle General McClellan began to call for reinforce-

ments and made extensive requisitions for clothing and shoes for his men. In this latter demand he was met with as prompt a response as the circumstances would admit. As to the condition of the men, there is no doubt that an active movement commenced at once would have been attended with great privation, and in some cases with actual suffering. There had been no opportunity since leaving Harrison's Landing to obtain any clothing or shoes, and most of the men, in these respects, were in a deplorable condition.

Mr. Bartram Ashmead, a private soldier, who served a full term of honorable service in the Seventy-Second Pennsylvania, gives an amusing account in his journal of the state of his clothing upon arrival at Harper's Ferry:

"My wardrobe, averaging about the same as the rest of the troops, consisted of the following articles:

"One pair of worn-out shoes.

"One cap; faded from blue to dingy gray.

"One blouse; color unknown.

"One pair of pantaloons; ragged and soiled.

"One pair of suspenders; black from wear.

"After waiting several days, we received a new outfit, and again presented a soldierly appearance. My old blouse being in material perfectly good, and wanting an extra coat, I thought I would try an experiment and give it the benefit of a good wash. Taking it down to the Shenandoah, I tied it fast to a limb, flung it in the roaring current between two rocks where it was entirely covered with water, and left it to the mercy of the tide. After being thus exposed for ten days I drew it out for inspection; but still presenting some signs of life I

allowed it to remain in its old position, thinking 'time was the best remedy for all evils.' Owing to other duties, I neglected to visit the place until after the lapse of two weeks, and I thought as I again drew it forth that surely all was right now ; but, alas ! life had nourished itself along the seams, and I despaired of ever having it in use again. With disappointed hopes I gave it to the waters, and as it sailed down the stream it seemed for all the world like a steamboat crowded with passengers."

The inconveniences, of which this sketch is a fair illustration, were borne by the men with good humor, and a disposition to draw some consolation from the fact that the condition of the enemy, as shown by the prisoners that were taken, was as bad and perhaps worse. Many of the Confederates were not only poorly clad, but presented the appearance of having been in this situation for a considerable period of time. In this connection it is only fair to say that the people through the parts of Maryland where the enemy had been gave them credit for abstaining from the seizure of private property without compensation. This self-denial might be accounted for from the fact that after the address of General Lee to the people, his army would, for the sake of consistency, be on its good behavior.

General Sumner placed his corps in commanding positions on Bolivar Heights, and ordered Captain Pell and his men of the First Brigade of Sedgwick's Division to occupy the Ferry, as a provost guard ; while a large detail, under the command of a captain, was made from the Philadelphia Brigade for the same duty on Camp Hill and Bolivar.

During the month the corps was lying here, the provost guard had some very amusing experiences, involving a knowledge not only of military laws but of civil jurisprudence.

The large mansion and surrounding buildings occupied formerly by the superintendent of the Government works, were used as headquarters and as a guard-house. It was the labor of days to put these structures and the grounds about them in a safe condition for occupancy. After the surrender of our unfortunate men composing this garrison at the time of Jackson's advance, there was a vast amount of war material destroyed. This work was purposely done in such a manner as to risk the lives of our troops when they returned. All about the grounds and in the buildings, shells and loose cartridges were placed, and even the wells were not spared.

After the work of removing these destructive elements was supposed to have been thoroughly performed, one of the buildings that had been set aside for the purpose was used as a place of confinement for the prisoners. These were mostly stragglers from camp, or men who had obtained a supply from some illicit trader in bad whisky, and were suffering from its effects. The first evening that the guard-house was made use of, an unfortunate event occurred, that resulted in the serious injury of a number of the guard as well as the prisoners. In preparing the building the loose powder had been carefully swept out after the ammunition had been removed, and the stone floor was thoroughly cleansed with water. At about ten P.M., as Sergeant Mervine, Seventy-Second Regiment, was putting a drunken soldier in the door, he attempted to take a lighted cigar from the man; in the

scuffle it fell on the ground, and immediately an explosion took place, caused by the ignition of particles of powder that had lodged in the crevices and cracks of the building. By this accident about ten persons were injured; the sergeant and others suffering very painful wounds.

After this affair it was determined to strike at the root of the evil, and, instead of being compelled to arrest gallant comrades who had been led into temptation, to secure the parties who were carrying on the unlawful business of supplying liquor to the troops.

When our corps took possession of the town, all the stores and business places were vacant; but soon after, traders and sutlers applied for permission to enter the lines and open their stores of articles for sale to the soldiers. Licenses were freely granted, subject to certain rules; one of these being a prohibition from selling intoxicating liquors. The stores were rented by the provost-marshal at such prices as he thought the occupants could afford to pay, and the money received was turned over to the surgeons for the benefit of the sick and wounded.

After the failure of several efforts to find the illicit traders, the men were set at work as detectives. The result of two or three nights of experimenting in the rôle of carousers divulged not only the names of the dealers, but the place of concealment for the "contraband." The discovery exhibited many ingenious devices to avoid capture and punishment. Some of the dealers had barrels constructed to draw either cider or whisky; others used, as disguises, boxes of tobacco and other substances not at all suggestive of their real contents. In

some places the boards of the floor were removed, and "the stuff" hidden between the joists; and in others, concealed in parts of furniture. After reprisals and forfeiture had taken place, the offenders were cautioned and put under surveillance. In spite of all, however, some persons persisted in the business and met the consequences,—a seizure of all their wares, to be sold at auction, and the owners put to work at the fortifications on Loudon Heights.

These sales were conducted by the soldiers, and, as none of them were experienced in the business, the auctions were very amusing to all except the hapless owners. There were two or three old widow ladies living in the place, who were really loyal to the Union, and favorites with the men for various kind acts performed towards the sick. When the sales took place, they were notified, and the auctioneer took care to refuse no bid from them for the purchase of articles to supply their little shop, even though it might be a barrel of apples for fifty cents, or a box of cigars for a quarter.

During the time the army was in this vicinity, President Lincoln visited the troops. As he rode through Bolivar he looked careworn and anxious, and in his whole manner seemed to say, Why does McClellan allow the best month of the fall to pass, without availing himself of the weather and the good roads to look after the army of General Lee?

The order for a movement was finally received, and its execution commenced on October 26th. The army had been increased to one hundred thousand effectives, and its advance began to cross the Potomac at Berlin, Maryland, and to move southward on the east side of the

Blue Ridge. As soon as this movement commenced, the enemy in our front perceived it, and began to retire up the Shenandoah Valley, pursued for a short distance by Sedgwick's and Hancock's Divisions.

On October 29th, the Second Corps joined in the advance with the army, and, crossing the Shenandoah to the Loudon Valley, started on the fall campaign.

As the brigade was moving from the Ferry, it was joined by a civilian, who, from this period until the final muster-out, became as fully identified with the command as any of its members.

This gentleman, Mr. Joseph Warner Johnson, of Philadelphia, was a member of the Society of Friends; a man of light and weak frame but indomitable will.

Being consistent in all things, his principles would not allow him to become a combatant; but seeing a wide field open, his humanity and patriotism induced him to seek for active service with the army as a humanitarian in the widest sense. Abandoning all the comforts of a luxurious and happy home, he joined the army, and "did what he could" to cheer and relieve the wounded and distressed, without thought of risk to himself or of compensation, save the inward satisfaction of benefiting the cause, and those who were imperiling, with himself, their lives to sustain the right.

He was continually in correspondence, answering the inquiries of relations or friends concerning the wounded or dead soldiers, and would spare no trouble or inconvenience to give the information required. After pay-day he was in the habit of sending home to his business partners large sums, to be paid to the families of the men of the Philadelphia troops, and especially of the brigade;



and at one period, while the army was in a sorry and dilapidated condition, he procured from Philadelphia large quantities of shirts, shoes, and stockings, which were distributed gratuitously among the troops. Among these shoes were smaller sizes, that were best adapted to the wants of the men, and which the Government had been unable, for months, to furnish in quantities to meet the demand. These supplies were so unostentatiously issued that it is probable scarcely any of the recipients ever knew that they were the free gift of patriotic and charitable Friends.

By a multitude of actions, of which these are indications, the memory of J. Warner Johnson is embalmed in the hearts of the survivors of the Philadelphia Brigade. Even those among the men who did not know his name, so quietly was his work performed, will recognize in this sketch the pleasant and genial man seen so often on the march, riding with the brigade commander, or, during the conflict, assisting in the hospitals near the field of action.

## CHAPTER XII.

### FREDERICKSBURG.

ON November 3d the brigade had reached a point four miles below Snicker's Gap, and at this place General W. W. Burns formally relinquished the command to General Joshua T. Owen, who had been promoted from the colonelcy of the Sixty-Ninth. General Burns left the brigade to assume command of a division in Burnside's Corps, and the separation was one of mutual regret. The commander understood the men, and they appreciated his value as an officer.

On the afternoon of the 4th the division arrived in the vicinity of Ashby's Gap, and a large detail of the brigade was ordered to occupy the place as a flank and picket-guard. The officer in charge was directed to throw out skirmishers and advance with care, as the enemy were in the vicinity. While moving towards the hills, a soldier was seen approaching from the direction where the enemy were supposed to be located. This man proved to belong to a New England regiment, and had been "skirmishing" on his own account far outside our lines, and was carrying on his shoulders a large turkey. Our field officer questioned him as to where he had been, and how he came in possession of the prize. Pointing to a farm-house in the distance, he replied, "I bought

it of those people." After taking his name and the number of his regiment, he was allowed to go on his way to camp. When the picket-line was properly established, the officer stopped at the house for something to eat, and, while sitting on the porch, the owner produced the note with which the enterprising Yankee purchased the turkey. It was a new ten-dollar Confederate bill, bearing, like the genuine article, the words, "Ten years after a treaty of peace;" but, unfortunately for the seller, it had been printed and issued by a publisher in Philadelphia as an advertising dodge. The farmer in his ignorance had parted with his fowl and given seven dollars of real Confederate money in change for this piece of paper. It is needless to say that Yankee soldiers were unpopular in this vicinity ever after.

On the 6th we marched through Rectortown, and, reaching Salem, encamped for the night. At this place the first snow-storm of the season made its appearance. The ground was covered to the depth of three inches, but the sun of the following day soon carried it off, leaving in its place slush and muddy fields.

On November 7th, while encamped near Warrenton, General McClellan was relieved of his command, and General Burnside was appointed his successor. This event took the whole army by surprise, and seemed for the moment to cast a gloom over the troops. Officers and men had a passionate affection for their leader, and when the formal separation occurred the scene rivaled some of those made historically famous in the time of Napoleon. The commands were formed on either side of the Warrenton road on November 10th, and when "Little Mac," as the soldiers called him, rode in review,

some of the regiments broke ranks, and the men impulsively rushed forward and, seizing his horse, begged their old commander to stay. He said in reply to these impassioned demonstrations, "I wish you to stand by General Burnside as you have stood by me, and all will be well. Good-by," and, as the favorite leader rode off, the men gave him an enthusiastic farewell.

After the appointment of General Burnside the army was consolidated into three grand divisions, under Generals Sumner, Franklin, and Hooker. The Second and Ninth Corps formed the right grand division, and remained in the vicinity of Warrenton until the 15th. At this date the advance of the army was across the Rappahannock, and about fifteen miles south of Warrenton. The entire available force of General Burnside consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men; and that of General Lee of about sixty thousand, at Culpeper and Gordonsville, and thirty thousand under Jackson, occupying the roads north of Winchester, towards Hancock. Jackson's position was probably intended as a feint towards crossing the Potomac; but if so, it failed to effect its design.

On the 15th the Army of the Potomac began to move towards Fredericksburg. The advance, led by General Sumner's Corps, was in three columns: Howard's, French's, and Hancock's Divisions. After marching a distance of thirty-five miles, the Second Division, now under General Howard, arrived near Falmouth on the 17th of November.

This village is on the north bank of the Rappahannock, and opposite the city of Fredericksburg. The distance from the latter place to Richmond is sixty-five

miles, and the connection is by a double-track road almost to Hanover Junction. The communication between Washington and this point is by the Potomac River to Aquia Creek, then by a short line of railroad to the Rappahannock. This river is admirably fitted for a line of defense against a movement towards Richmond. Above Falmouth it runs mostly between high hills or table-lands, difficult of ascent; while its fords are few and narrow. Below the village the ground along the river has more favorable crossing-places and positions for the formation of troops. At Fredericksburg, the north bank commands the town and the greater part of the space between the river-banks, as well as a series of heights that lie parallel with the stream from one to two miles back.

Upon Sumner's arrival opposite Fredericksburg, he was met with the fire of a field-battery located in the rear of the town, giving evidence that General Lee already anticipated the plan of Burnside's campaign. The guns of the enemy were silenced in about fifteen minutes by Pettit's Battery, located on one of the hills near Falmouth. General Sumner was anxious to cross at once and, after occupying the town, seize these formidable heights; but General Burnside would not assent to the proposal, preferring to wait until the railroad to Aquia Creek was established, and communications were perfected with Washington.

On the 21st, our grand division and portions of the others having arrived at Falmouth, General Sumner demanded of the Mayor and Common Council of Fredericksburg the surrender of the place. They replied that they had no control over the city, and that they

were assured by the military authorities of the Confederate army that they would not occupy the town themselves, or permit the National troops to do so. Evidently anticipating an immediate attack in response to this refusal, the town was filled with Mississippi sharpshooters.

The army of Burnside now began to concentrate about Falmouth, while it was apparent that General Lee at the same time was massing his forces on the heights back of Fredericksburg. Preparations were pushed by our troops to force the passage of the river, and the crossing-place selected was at Falmouth. As the hills of the north were favorable to the artillery covering the landing, while on the south the ground immediately about the place of debouching was screened from the batteries of the enemy, there was no obstacle anticipated to the building of bridges, except the sharpshooters already occupying the town.

On the 10th of December everything seemed prepared for the movement. The long-delayed pontons had arrived, and were ready to be run from their place of concealment down to the river. There were to be three bridges opposite the town, and two a short distance below, where Franklin was to cross. Sumner's and Hooker's grand divisions, composed of sixty thousand men, were lying near Falmouth and about one mile from the river, while Franklin's Division of forty thousand was stationed two miles below.

At daylight of the 11th our division was moved nearer to the river, and formed just back of the Stafford Hills. At the same time the engineers were trying to lay the bridges. The work had been prosecuted very

quietly from an early hour in the morning, and after daylight it had the advantage of concealment through a heavy fog. The bridges had advanced far towards completion before they were discovered by the enemy, when the sharp-shooters, from their places of shelter, opened a severe fire. After several attempts to finish the work, it was temporarily abandoned, the fire being too deadly.

Nothing could be done until the riflemen were driven away, and only artillery could effectually destroy their covers and accomplish their expulsion. During the night twenty field batteries had been placed in position on the heights, and now, by command of General Burnside, these guns opened, concentrating their fire on the houses occupied by the Confederate marksmen. This terrific cannonade was continued for some hours, then slackened, but the enemy were still in their hiding-places ready to defeat all attempts to complete the bridges.

During this bombardment the division was massed immediately to the rear of the batteries, being entirely hidden from view and protected from the fire of the enemy. The morning had passed, and yet no orders had been received for the infantry to move; the whole operations, so far as we could see, being confined to the artillery on the river-banks. Towards four o'clock, this state of things still continuing, the men seemed disposed to gratify their curiosity in spite of the strict order to remain perfectly concealed, and a few straggled towards the front. Colonel Baxter of the Seventy-Second rode up to the crest to send those belonging to his command back to their regiment. While engaged on this duty he met General Howard in conversation with a small group

of officers. The general said, in effect,—“Baxter, the bridge is finished with the exception of two boats, and these it seems impossible to lay, operations being stopped by the fire of the enemy’s sharp-shooters.” He further remarked, “There is a proposition to send a detachment of troops across the river in boats and force a landing, and I have no doubt the plan will succeed.” Baxter replied, “If you say so, I will furnish the men for the work from my regiment;” and after comparing his time with General Howard’s, added, “I will wait in this place ten minutes for the order.” General Howard started at once to see Burnside. In the mean time Baxter rode rapidly to the river and a short distance along its bank to ascertain the best point for embarking, and returned to the place of meeting to await the arrival of General Howard. Here he remained for a considerable period over the allotted time without receiving any message, when the Seventh Michigan Regiment, under Colonel Henry Baxter, made its appearance. The colonel rode up to the regiment, and addressing its commander, a gallant officer with whom he was well acquainted, said, “Harry, where are you going with your command?” “Across the river in the boats,” was the reply; “I have just received word through an aid for ‘Colonel Baxter to take his regiment over.’” “It is a mistake,” said the commander of the Seventy-Second; “that was to have been the work of my regiment.” By this time the right of the Seventh Michigan had neared the river, and as Colonel Harry Baxter turned to lead the crossing, he called out, “I can’t help it, colonel; I have the order.”

In the official report of General Couch, commanding the Second Corps, as well as in the published records of



the operations of this day, it is stated that the "Seventh Michigan Regiment volunteered to effect a crossing." Far be it from the writer of this journal to pluck one leaf from the laurel crown of their standard. During a service with them of several campaigns, he had abundant evidence of their extraordinary gallantry ; and he will never forget that men of this command, after the charge at Cold Harbor, under a heavy fire, risked their lives to carry him to the rear of the line when severely wounded. The authority for Colonel D. W. C. Baxter's statement, however, is indisputable, and while the Michiganders made the crossing, and did it bravely, there is good reason to believe that they did not volunteer to cross the Rappahannock.

After a landing had been effected, the Seventh Michigan rushed up the banks, drove the sharp-shooters from their shelter, captured a number of them, and took possession of that portion of the river front in the immediate vicinity of the intended landing for the bridge. The pontons were now speedily completed and the troops ordered to cross.

The Philadelphia troops were among the first to pass over, and General Owen, who was at the head of the column, ordered a detachment from the Fire Zouaves to deploy as skirmishers, and drive the Confederates from that portion of the town which they still occupied.

It was now about dusk, and the enemy had the advantage of being familiar with the localities ; but nothing daunted, the "Fire boys" went at it in earnest, rather liking the change from fighting in the woods to an encounter in the streets of a city. After considerable skirmishing, in which some of our men were wounded

and the enemy had been driven two or three squares from the wharf, his forces made a determined stand. Seeing this, our skirmishers were increased by detachments from other regiments of the brigade, and while a portion of them were engaged in exchanging shots, another body by passing through buildings and side streets made a charge, capturing a number of prisoners and driving the rest of the Confederates towards their main force in the rear of the town. The skirmishers were now rapidly advanced, and by ten o'clock they held possession of the built-up portion of Fredericksburg. During all this time the corps of Sumner was crossing the river and massing in the city.

The landing of our troops was effected so suddenly after the charge of the Michigan men that the citizens who remained in the town were not aware that we had entered. The officer in charge of the skirmishers saw a light in a dwelling after the firing had ceased, just beyond his advance. After directing the picket to keep watch on the house, he knocked at the door and was answered by a middle-aged lady who, seeing that he was an officer, invited him to walk in, saying, "I am glad to see you." On entering a nicely-furnished sitting-room he found another lady somewhat younger than the first, evidently occupied in preparing supper, who said, "We are pleased to see you, and we were afraid from the noise we heard to-day, that you were going to let the Yankees come over." The officer wore an overcoat that had been blue, but from the smoke of camp-fires and the adhering soil of Virginia, its present shade was so doubtful that these ladies, totally unconscious of our advance, took their visitor to be a Confederate. To the remark, "You

needn't be afraid of the Yankees," one of them replied, "We thought it strange if you all, with the eighty thousand men you say you have, would let 'em over." The conversation then turned to the people of the city and other gossip, and it required some management to prevent the suspicions of the hostess from being excited. In the mean time the supper was fast being prepared. Just before its completion the officer said, "Where have you been during the day?" "In the cellar of this house to escape the shelling," was the reply. Pulling out his pocket-book and unrolling some greenbacks, he said, "Suppose I tell you I am a Yankee." The ladies looked at the notes for a moment, then at the officer, when the youngest exclaimed, "Law me! hit me again, Mr. Gordon;" adding, "We are glad to see you anyhow, and you must take supper." The officer accepted the invitation to the hurried repast, and requested that they might express their great joy to the next Yankee, and not to him.

There was quite a number of the inhabitants who remained in the town, the greater part of whom sheltered themselves in the cellars and vaults of buildings. Although some few made narrow escapes, it is not probable that there was any loss of life; the fire of our batteries being principally concentrated about the river front for the purpose of dislodging the sharp-shooters.

At midnight, when our brigade was relieved from the picket-line by another command, the town was filled with troops and exhibited all the destruction to private property customary to a place taken by storm. On some streets, houses had been carelessly set on fire and the men were trying to extinguish the flames. By the light of

the conflagration groups of soldiers were examining books, pictures, wearing apparel and hundreds of other things that had been taken from the deserted dwellings. In some instances men would enter a building, pick up an article that pleased their fancy, and after carrying it a few squares make an exchange for another piece of property.

One old lady, a resident of the place, seemed disposed to profit by these transactions, and accordingly opened a little store, offering "batter-cakes" and "slap-jacks" in trade for any article of personal property. There was at all times a lively throng of soldiers about her doors waiting turns to make an exchange, and the assortment of articles they carried comprised every variety of household goods. What the old woman did with her illicit gains, or how the people of the city straightened their accounts with her after we left, it would puzzle an investigating committee to ascertain.

These "irregularities" were confined almost exclusively to houses that had been abandoned, but nevertheless they were a portion of the calamities usually classified as "horrors of war," that we trust may never again be experienced by any American city. So far as our observations went in this place, the citizens were not maltreated or insulted; and while the exigencies of the service do not always permit the detailing of guards over property abandoned by the enemy, the fact that private dwellings may be despoiled under any circumstances without form of law is demoralizing.

The next day was employed in crossing the remainder of the army. One corps of Hooker's grand division passed over with Sumner at the town, while the other

joined Franklin at his landing on the plain below Fredericksburg.

The enemy made but little effort to interfere with the advance, contenting themselves with dropping an occasional shell in the ranks of the regiments descending to the bridges. Sometimes these shots were very destructive. One battalion that appeared to be new in the service, from its numbers and the condition of the uniforms, was marching over the fatal spot, preceded by a band playing "Bully for You," when a shell burst in their ranks. Looking back from the south side of the river, we saw the men scatter, and when the smoke cleared away, some of the poor fellows were lying in the agonies of death.

During the night our troops rested on their arms unconscious of the orders for the future, but feeling certain that the morrow would bring desperate work.

The battle of Fredericksburg was begun on December 13th, by General Franklin on the left, who, at ten A.M., advanced Meade's Division, supported by Gibbon on its right, with Doubleday in reserve. Meade pushed forward with great vigor, capturing two hundred prisoners and several standards, and reached the new military road that Lee had constructed to secure communication between the wings of his army. At this point he was met by overwhelming numbers and forced back, losing very heavily. Gibbon now rushed forward to support the retreating regiments of Meade, and he too was repulsed. General Franklin then ordered Birney's Division to advance, and it arrived just at the time that Gibbon's troops were in confusion, and, presenting a firm line, checked the advance of the enemy. The opera-

tions described in these few words lasted about two hours, and were attended with severe loss to our troops without any beneficial result.

At noon, just two hours after the commencement of Franklin's fight, General Sumner was ordered to assault the heights back of Fredericksburg. The directions were to make the attack with a single division supported by another. French's command was selected for the advance, supported by Hancock. The assault was to be by brigade front, and the deployment was made after moving out by the plank road and crossing the canal. The point to be assailed was Marye's Heights. At its base was a stone wall, and on the ridge or half-way up the side were other defenses; all these were filled with riflemen. The approach to this position lay over a broad plain which was swept by the converging fire from the numerous batteries of the enemy.

The moment French began to move forward he was met with a furious fire of shot and shell, and as he pushed on and neared the hill he encountered heavy volleys of musketry at short range. For a moment the men stood, then staggered back, losing nearly half their number. Hancock, with the gallant Irish Brigade of Meagher, was immediately back of French, and they almost reached the stone wall, and after enduring this murderous fire for ten minutes were forced back, losing more than two thousand men out of five thousand engaged. General Hancock says in his report, "These were veteran regiments, led by able and tried commanders."

And now came the turn of our division to enter these bloody scenes. As our brigade moved out on the telegraph road by the flank, left in front, the Seventy-Second,

commanded by Colonel Baxter, had the left and the One Hundred and Sixth, under Colonel T. G. Morehead, the right. The moment our command made its appearance, and before reaching the canal, we were exposed to a cross-fire of artillery; men were struck down lacerated by the bursting shells, while the posts and fences along the road were torn to pieces and the fragments sent flying in the air. Without hesitating the brigade followed its gallant leader, General Owen, and, crossing the bridge, formed front in line of battle on the open field. The advance continued until the ground was reached where the dead and wounded of French and Hancock were lying; here we were ordered to lie down and be prepared to hold the place.

This position was on the field immediately in front of Marye's house, and within one hundred and fifty yards of the Confederate line. The brigade was in the following order, beginning at the left: Seventy-Second, One Hundred and Sixth, and Sixty-Ninth,—the right of the last regiment resting on the turnpike road. The Seventy-First at this time was holding an important position on the right of the town.

On this open space, exposed to a continual fire, targets for riflemen or artillery, without any chance for shelter or even permission to return the fire, the Philadelphia Brigade was posted the entire afternoon of the battle. The large mansion on the hill in front was filled with sharp-shooters, who rested their pieces on the window-sills, and, after taking deliberate aim, fired at our line. In some instances officers of the brigade, who were easily recognized as such by their uniform, had the melancholy satisfaction of observing the effect of repeated

shots made at their persons. A captain of a company on the left, while reclining on his side, noticed a sharpshooter taking more careful aim than usual, and the instant the shot was fired threw up his arm to protect his face, and received a wound on his hand.

During these hours, which seemed to be unusually long, the excitement was increased by the charges of troops made at different times in the afternoon. These were supported by the artillery of the corps, which had been sent forward by General Sumner, and located a short distance to our rear, upon an elevation from which it could fire over the brigade. Occasionally a shell would burst short, or the fragments of a sabot would strike among us, and for the moment recall our attention from the front.

The first two charges that were made after our arrival reached a point within fifty yards of the stone wall, where they halted for a moment, fired a few shots, and with heavy loss rushed back through our line, carrying a few of our men with them. Towards evening, Burnside seemed determined to try to do with inexperienced troops what he had failed to accomplish with veterans; and General Humphreys's Division of Hooker's Corps was sent forward with empty muskets and fixed bayonets.

The first intimation of their advance was conveyed by loud shouts and cheers from the bank of the canal to our rear. Looking back, we saw the mass of men with flags unfurled rushing forward. They seemed full of spirit, and as the general led them on we thought this time the rifle-pits might be carried. General Humphreys was a gallant officer, and evidently meant work. When he reached our position and saw the line of men



lying along with their dead and wounded comrades, he supposed we were skulkers, and in commanding tones ordered our brigade to join his column. Being convinced of his error, in a moment he moved on, and we rose to our feet to see the result.

Humphreys's Division did well in this storm of death, but no better than its predecessors. A few neared the stone wall, then hesitated, loaded their rifles and discharged a few wild shots, then started to run. As they passed our line in their retreat, the soldiers, remembering the unfounded charges of their commander, stopped many of his men, compelling them to reinforce our brigade.

In this charge General Humphreys lost seventeen hundred men out of four thousand, and General Hooker in referring to it in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, says, "Finding that I had lost as many men as my orders required me to lose, I suspended the attack." He might have added, these men were not substitutes nor men who had been drafted, but the best blood of a patriotic volunteer army.

The sun refused to stand still on this worse than useless waste of human life, and night threw a friendly mantle over the field of carnage. Then the ambulance corps commenced quietly to grope in the darkness to find those of the fallen who gave signs of life. Torches were impossible, as the moment they appeared the enemy fired at the bearer. The wounded lay everywhere about us, and to assist the stretcher-bearers in finding them quickly, these poor fellows were told by their comrades to groan continually until they were found and carried off the field.

At eleven o'clock that night the three regiments were relieved by Sykes's regulars. These troops noiselessly took our places. The commands were given in whispers, and the canteens and cups of the men were arranged to prevent their rattling. In this manner we quietly moved away from the front of Marye's Heights, and found rest for the night in the streets of the town.

The Seventy-First Regiment, under Colonel Markoe, was relieved from its position and sent to the front at the same time with the regulars. Markoe was ordered to hold the ground used for tanning purposes on the right of the road. This place afforded no shelter, and was but a few yards from the enemy, rendering great care necessary to avoid drawing fire from the Confederate line ensconced behind stone walls. During the night Colonel Baxter, acting as field officer, narrowly escaped capture while establishing his connections, and one of his sergeants was killed while advancing to his relief.

On the morning of the 14th Colonel T. G. Morehead was ordered to act as field officer of the Second Division, and at daylight took his post in the front line, near the Seventy-First. As soon as the fog rose the enemy continued the tactics of the preceding day, firing at every man that gave the least chance for a shot. The California boys held their places, lying as quiet as their comrades who were still in death about them. During the morning these dead bodies were repeatedly struck, the enemy supposing them to be videttes. Towards noon the Confederates opened with artillery, that made the tannery no longer tenable, and the regiment fell back to the shelter of the canal, losing several men in the effort.

During the morning General Burnside made prepara-

tion to renew the attack. For this purpose he had his old corps—the Ninth—formed as a column of assault by regiments, intending to lead the advance in person. General Sumner, whose reputation as a soldier gave value to his opinion, expostulated so strongly that the troops were spared this additional slaughter.

The rest of this day and the whole of the following, the army remained in the town, as if the leader was undecided what plan to adopt for future operations. Towards midnight of the 15th we commenced to recross the Rappahannock, and by daylight the whole army was over except a few stragglers, and the pontons were removed from the river.

For the failure of this attempt General Burnside was confessedly responsible; the army fought well, and did not return to their old camp with mortification over a defeat, but rather with sorrow over the useless death of comrades.

The Sixty-Ninth Regiment reported a loss of nineteen men killed, five officers and twenty-seven men wounded, and two taken prisoners. The officers wounded were Lieutenants Hugh Flood, John Ryan, Edward Thompson, W. F. McNamara, and W. M. Kelly. The casualties in the other regiments are not officially reported, but from the examination of records the average loss was about the same as that of the Sixty-Ninth. Of the officers of the Seventy-First, Lieutenant B. F. Hibbs was killed, and Lieutenant B. J. McMahon wounded. Among the wounded in the other regiments were the following: Captain A. C. Supplee and Lieutenant John C. Dobleman, Seventy-Second; and Captains Francis H. Acuff, Wm. V. Farr, and Wm. N. Jones, and Lieu-

tenants John Steel, Sloanaker, Hassett, and May, One Hundred and Sixth.

The total losses in the brigade, taking into consideration the perilous duty it had to perform, were astonishingly small, as will be seen from a comparison of the annexed reports, taken from the brigade returns, now in the War Department:

	OCTOBER 31st, 1862.			DECEMBER 31st, 1862.		
	Total Present and Absent.	Present.		Total Present and Absent.	Present.	
		Officers.	Men.		Officers.	Men.
69th P. V.	700	18	419	594	18	390
71st P. V.	737	15	388	649	21	367
72d P. V.	1106	26	623	992	21	524
106th P. V.	699	30	427	639	27	358
	3242	89	1857	2874	87	1639

## CHAPTER XIII.

### FALMOUTH.

THE period immediately succeeding the battle of Fredericksburg was one of gloom and discouragement to the troops. The *morale* of the army seemed to be impaired as much by the absence of any appearance of definite plans for the future as by the failure just witnessed. Men who have passed through the vicissitudes of a few campaigns, and have experienced both success and defeat, are not likely to become so thoroughly demoralized as to prevent their speedy response to the call of duty ; but at this time in the history of the Army of the Potomac the reaction was more slow than usual.

If it is essential to the attainment of good discipline that soldiers should be reduced to mere machines, that cannot criticise and will not speak, the American volunteer will not attain that perfection. A march was never commenced, or a campaign begun, that did not originate at the same time theories among the troops as to the object and probable success ; and the result of the operations was always criticised by the men, with the aid of such intelligence as they possessed, or such information as they could obtain.

This disposition did not interfere with the desire to perform their duty under any circumstances, or restrain

that regard for fair play to their commanders so characteristic of the true soldier. In spite of the distrust attached to General Burnside as a leader, he won the admiration of the men for his personal character, his candid assumption of the entire responsibility for the last failure, and his acknowledgment that the fighting of the troops entitled them to better success. The rank and file were not alone in this feeling of distrust, however, and it is a matter of history that a number of the general officers who issued and obeyed the orders of the general commanding did so only out of loyalty to the cause, and for the same reason refrained from expressing their disapproval of his plans.

This want of confidence and feeling of discontent occasioned straggling and desertion to a greater extent than usual. The number of men reported as "missing in action," or "absent without leave," was continually increasing; while some of those wearing shoulder-straps were trying to get "honorable" discharges by means of surgeons' certificates for trifling wounds.

According to the testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, desertions were taking place at the rate of two hundred per day. It is true these stragglers were not going over to the enemy, but the army was nevertheless weakened in its effective force by eighty thousand absentees, most of them from causes unknown.

On the 1st of January, 1863, the President issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and there was a considerable number of the troops that expressed opposition to it; some of whom went so far as to say that they would not have entered the service if this action of the Government had been anticipated. This disaffection increased

the demoralization, until its influence began to be exhibited to some extent in every corps.

In spite of this condition of affairs, the great mass of the army seemed prepared to enter the field again, and only awaited the order. It appeared to be the universal demand of the country that a movement of some kind should be made to overcome the influence of the Fredericksburg disaster; and success was as much needed to inspire hope in the hearts of the people as to restore to the army confidence in the ability of its chief. General Burnside accordingly resolved to attempt once more the passage of the Rappahannock.

At all the fords of the river in the vicinity of Fredericksburg the Confederates had stationed considerable bodies of troops as corps of observation, which rendered a surprise impossible. The difficulty was still further increased by the river being higher than usual, rendering the building of bridges for crossing a matter of necessity. Nothing daunted by these untoward circumstances, General Burnside issued the orders for preparations, and commenced a series of feints by the movements of trains and the dispositions of troops.

On the 19th of January the movement began, and was conducted with as much secrecy as possible. The first demonstration was made below Fredericksburg, by a portion of the Second Corps and the Reserve Corps, under Sigel. This movement was followed on the 20th by preparations for crossing at Banks's Ford by the grand divisions of Hooker and Franklin, which had been secretly moved to that vicinity the day before. The artillery positions were selected, and the pontoons were placed within a short distance of the river-bank.

During the night of the 20th one of the wildest storms of the season arose, and the roads were covered with mud and water that seemed to have no bottom. In spite of this, the men struggled on through the rain and sticky soil to bring the boats to the river. Horses from the batteries in triple teams, aided by hundreds of strong arms tugging at the ropes, could scarce move the ponton carriages through the mire. The entire day was spent in trying to accomplish the preparation to build a single bridge. The next day brought another of like experience in effort, with a still greater amount of rain and mud, until it was evident to both sides that the Army of the Potomac was stuck in the mud. The enemy, who by this time became aware of the character of the efforts to cross, shouted over, "Yanks, have you eaten all your rations yet? We will come over and help build your bridges."

It was now evident that the "mud campaign" was over, and the troops floundered back to camp, which they found by no means an easy task. Guns were sunk to their axles in the tenacious soil, requiring the united efforts of a regiment to extricate one at a time from its position. During this unfortunate movement our brigade was compelled, from its prominent position, in plain view of the Confederates, to remain in its camp, and we could only aid our comrades, as they struggled back to their old positions, by dividing our rations with them, or furnishing detachments to assist the artillery in hauling the guns.

After this last effort of General Burnside, he was at his own request relieved from a position that had been thrust upon him, and the chief qualification for which



consisted in his zeal and patriotism. On January 25th General Joseph Hooker was assigned to the command of the army. The same order relieved at his own request the brave old Sumner, who, shortly after this, while on his way to join the army on the frontier, was taken sick and died at Syracuse, New York. His loss was as deeply felt by the Philadelphia Brigade as though he had been their only commander.

With the appointment of General Hooker, or "Fighting Joe," as he was called, came the usual "General Orders No. 1," containing the assumption of command with allusion to past records and future purposes. The grand divisions were discontinued, and the army divided into seven corps; the Second being under command of General Couch. The artillery and the cavalry were also reorganized and rendered more efficient. Absentees were recalled to regiments, and measures were energetically pushed to restore the *morale* of the troops, which were largely successful. With one exception, all movements were postponed during the remainder of the winter. The exception was in the case of the Philadelphia Brigade. Whether it was intended to add to our experience, or to show the troops that we should not be favored by our non-participation in the mud march, the brigade was ordered at nine P.M., February 25th, to march in the direction of Hartwood Church to intercept a body of Confederate cavalry, who were raiding on the right flank of the army. A short time before this, snow had fallen to the depth of seven inches, but had gradually turned to slush and water. The night we started was dismal and foggy, and a little after midnight rain commenced to fall, increasing in quantity until daylight, when it

came down in torrents. The roads were almost impassable, and the men literally waded during the march. The expedition was one of the most severe the brigade had experienced, and the twelve miles marched in darkness through the pelting of this winter storm, although it failed to accomplish any other purpose, certainly demonstrated the good-natured endurance of the Philadelphia men. It is probable that the cavalry of the enemy recrossed the Rappahannock long before the brigade found the church, and a few hours after our arrival we were ordered back to our quarters; an order which was more cheerfully obeyed than the one detailing us on our mission.

During the period immediately succeeding the last operation, the condition of the ground and the stormy weather prevented all movements, or even the ordinary drills and reviews. But storm or sunshine are equally favorable to "chin" or "cook-house news," and the questions passed from one to another, "What next?" "What will General Hooker attempt?" Even the newspaper correspondents, whose productions were a never-failing source of information, seemed at a loss for a theory.

There was a number of these gentlemen who accompanied the army, and the enterprise they displayed in the pursuit of knowledge was truly astonishing. As our brigade was entering the fight at Fredericksburg, one of Frank Leslie's men was met rushing to the rear with his portfolio, no doubt containing hasty sketches of Marye's Heights as seen at no great distance. Another correspondent of an illustrated paper, who was determined to get an item worth reporting, tried to move the army,

and, to assist in his laudable purpose, issued a cartoon entitled "Why don't the army move?" It represented a soldier stuck in the mud, with an organ strapped on his back marked "The Washington Chronicle," and on this instrument Secretary Stanton was standing on one foot, supporting on his shoulders President Lincoln. This correspondent did actually accomplish a movement, but he was the sole participant; being ordered by General Hooker to transfer his labors to the rear of our lines.

There was with the brigade for a few months the correspondent of a Philadelphia paper, whose enterprise was fully equal to that of any of his brethren. This gentleman was exceedingly affable in his manners and careful in his examination of events, but by some mistake he was made a party to a difficulty in another brigade. Without any thorough inquiry into the merits of the case, he was arrested and sent as a prisoner under the charge of the provost guard to the prison-ship at Aquia Creek. His confinement lasted, of course, only a few days, but before he was exonerated and released he had secured information enough for several letters. When his paper arrived we found that it entirely ignored his troubles, but contained a letter dated at our camp which began with the incidental statement that the writer had availed himself of this opportunity, having occasion to visit the prison at Aquia, to lay before the public a description of the place. The journal containing this amusing letter probably had not so much confidence in other sources of information as our brigade correspondent supplied, as it kept over the column containing other war news in large type the heading, "Important, if true."

During this period of enforced quiet, the favorable days were used for drills and inspections, and the army fast regained its old discipline and energy. Hooker, in his enthusiastic humor, styled it "the finest army that ever trod this planet." At the time of the new organization under the last order, each corps was required to assume a distinct badge or insignia: the First wore a disk; the Second, a trefoil; the Third, a diamond; the Fifth, a Maltese cross; the Sixth, a plain cross; the Eleventh, a crescent; and the Twelfth, a star. The First Division of each corps had its badge of a red color; the Second, white; and the Third, blue. The flags of the corps and divisions were square, while those of the brigades were triangular in shape. By this arrangement it could be known at once if a soldier was straggling from his command by the mark on his cap, while it added the high incentive of personal pride in the honor of the corps wherever the decoration was worn.

These days in camp, waiting for the movement, were passed when other duties did not interfere in some very amusing ways. The men who had an enterprising spirit practiced the laws of trade, and gained experience and a little spending-money by barter. This was especially the case with some of the Eastern regiments. With true Yankee shrewdness they ascertained the little wants of the men, and set about catering to them. At first they commenced making candles, with wick obtained in Washington and tallow from the commissary. The limited supply furnished by the Government did not last long during the tedious winter nights, so that these camp-made articles were in considerable demand. Shortly after this first venture, the baking of cakes and pies was

successfully attempted, until the camps were well supplied with these luxuries. Upon one occasion the trade met a ludicrous set-back by the reply of one of Baxter's men to the inquiry of a Maine soldier, "Will you buy a pie?" "No, sir; I just bought one of your colonel." This joke reached the ears of General Howard, who was from the same State, and the business fell into disrepute.

The officers had their amusements as well as the men, and General Meagher of the Irish Brigade arranged a celebration of St. Patrick's day that was suited to all tastes. The general, dressed as a master of hounds, instituted hurdle-races, pole-climbing matches, and a variety of field sports, closing the performances with a complimentary dinner to the Second Corps officers. Unfortunately for some of us who were present, the general did not succeed in accommodating all his guests. He extricated himself from the difficulty, however, as gallantly as he went into the charge at Marye's Heights, by saying, "Gentlemen, if you do not all succeed in finding seats at the table, please remember that Thomas Francis Meagher's hospitality is not as large as his heart."

When the opportunity presented in camp, there was a creditable effort to impart religious instruction on the part of the chaplains. The Sixty-Ninth Regiment had the services of Father Martin, a Catholic priest who was respected by the men during his short term of service. The Seventy-First was served by Rev. Robert Keller, while the Seventy-Second had for its chaplain Rev. Gamaliel Collins; and whatever difference there might be in the religious doctrines of these gentlemen, there was no question about their ability to act as "fighting

parsons," when the occasion demanded. Both Mr. Keller and Mr. Collins acted as efficient aids on the field whenever they had the opportunity. The One Hundred and Sixth was well served by Chaplain William C. Harris, a most estimable gentleman, who remained with the regiment over one year.

The reorganization of the cavalry gave evidence early in the spring that it had promoted the efficiency of that branch of the service, and already there was considerable enterprise displayed in reconnoissances and passages at arms across the Rappahannock and in the vicinity of the fords. By the end of April the entire army seemed tired of looking at the enemy across the river, and felt willing to change the scene and prove once more its devotion to the just cause for which it had been so long struggling. When General Hooker gave the preliminary order for the movement, or the "slant at Lee," as he called it, the troops were ready.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### CHANCELLORSVILLE.

THERE are positions in military as well as in civil life where men have to "learn to labor and to wait,"—where there is an abundance of hard work and no apparent reward. These experiences were realized by the brigade on the field in front of Marye's Heights, in the midnight march to Hartwood, and now again in the first and only campaign, as army commander, of General Hooker. Soldiers used to define glory to be, "getting shot and having your name spelled wrong in the newspapers." In the battle of Chancellorsville the part, however important, that was assigned the Philadelphia Brigade did not give an opportunity to gather glory of any kind; but instead it offered at one period of the movement a full share of the risk and toil, with no possibility of gaining distinction by the service.

During the latter part of April every appearance seemed to indicate an early movement of the entire army. Already the cavalry, ten thousand strong, had started on an expedition to cut off the communications of General Lee with Richmond, and the infantry corps were prepared to follow the movement. In fact, this state of preparation had continued since the middle of April. All surplus clothing had been packed and sent to the

rear, except one shirt, one pair of drawers, and one pair of socks for each soldier. In the knapsacks along with these articles were stored five days' rations of coffee, sugar, crackers, and salt, and three days' supply of the same articles with salt pork were kept continually replaced in the haversacks; with these supplies five days' rations of beef on the hoof were kept in readiness. The tents that had gradually accumulated during the winter were turned over to the quartermaster, and the whole army was ready for quick movements.

The plan of Hooker's campaign was a bold one and worthy of a military genius. It consisted of a principal movement in strong force against the left of Lee's army, to be accomplished by a rapid march up the Rapahannock to Kelly's Ford, twenty-seven miles above Fredericksburg, thence moving down the south bank of the river, uncovering United States Ford, and menacing the rear of the Confederate line.

The crossing at Kelly's Ford was effected by the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps, by means of a ponton bridge, during the night of the 28th and morning of the 29th, and the line of march was taken up for Chancellorsville. To reach it the Rapidan had to be crossed. Hooker's right column struck the river at Germania Ford, while his left moved to Ely's Crossing. Both divisions forded it about the same time, encountering little opposition from the enemy, but compelled to wade through water in some places four feet deep. The men were in good spirits, and many of them plunged in after removing their clothing, which they carried on their bayonets along with their cartridge-boxes and haversacks.



While this movement was going on, the Second Corps, excepting Gibbon's Division, was ordered to United States Ford. At the same time the First, Third, and Sixth Corps, under General Sedgwick, were ordered to cross the river in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, and make a demonstration as if a real attack was intended. As soon as it was known by Sedgwick that Hooker's main force was near Chancellorsville, he received orders to detail Sickles's Third Corps and Reynolds's First Corps to join the main body. This left Sedgwick with his own corps, the Sixth, and our division of the Second Corps, commanded by General Gibbon. As soon as this movement began, one of the bridges was removed from its position below Fredericksburg and placed under the immediate charge of General Benham, who was ordered to move it to Banks's Ford, which was about half-way between Fredericksburg and United States Ford.

Our brigade, under the command of General Joshua T. Owen, was ordered to assist the movement and to cover the work of laying the bridges. The command was paraded at dark, and after stacking arms the men were detailed to move with the train and help in passing it over the hills and rough places until its destination was reached. This duty was performed by daylight of May 1st, when the men returned to the old camp for their arms and accoutrements. At eleven P.M. the command again moved to the crossing, which was reached about two A.M., Saturday, May 2d.

The Rappahannock, at Banks's Ford, makes a bend in the shape of a horseshoe. The tongue or neck of land thus formed is quite narrow, in some places being less

than a half-mile in width, rendering it easily enfiladed from the south bank of the river.

The necessary pickets were at once thrown out and the river front entirely covered. At daylight we found a Confederate picket-line on the opposite bank prepared to dispute our passage and to give serious trouble in laying the bridges. During the entire second day of May our force did nothing but exchange a few shots across the narrow river and place in position some batteries to cover the work when it should be commenced. The artillery assigned to our movement consisted of sixty guns belonging to the reserve, under the personal command of Brigadier-General Hunt. The presence of three general officers, Hunt, Benham, and Owen, representing three arms of the service, the brigade being the only infantry present, there was no immediate danger from lack of competent leaders if there was any opportunity for glory.

Late in the evening of this day General Sedgwick with his corps, the Sixth, and the remainder of our division, under General Gibbon, received orders to move through Fredericksburg and proceed to join the main body of the army at Chancellorsville. The only obstacle to the execution of this little order was the fact that Lee had left the famous heights to the rear of the town to be defended by five brigades of infantry and three batteries of artillery. This force was nearly equal to that encountered at this place by our columns on December 13th.

Sedgwick occupied Fredericksburg by moving up the river during the night, and before daylight on Sunday, May 3d, he attempted to surprise Marye's Heights, but

the assaulting party was quickly repulsed. The morning was now spent in preparations for a general attack, and it was not until about noon that the columns were ready. The moment the order was given to move forward, the line advanced on the left of the road on the double-quick without firing a shot. The resistance was very strong, and Sedgwick lost one thousand men in the attack, but his line never faltered until the stone walls were captured, and the storming parties rushed forward to the crest of the hill. At this point and on the ground about Marye's house there was a severe struggle, but victory crowned the movement, and the whole ridge was soon in possession of the Sixth Corps and our comrades of the Second Division. In this operation the enemy lost, besides their killed and wounded, several hundred prisoners and five pieces of artillery. The Confederate retreat was made towards the south by the telegraph road, while our troops took the plank road in the direction of Chancellorsville.

At an early hour on Sunday, while Sedgwick was preparing his attack, our brigade had orders to commence clearing the front preparatory to laying the bridges. After some little skirmishing and sharp-shooting, a detachment under Lieutenant Seabury, a gallant officer of the Seventy-First and an aid to General Owen, plunged into the river, which was forded with some difficulty, and, in spite of the enemy's pickets, landed, capturing a number of prisoners.

The engineers now set to work energetically to finish their task, and were covered by our skirmishers on the south side, with the additional protection of the artillery on the north bank. The bridge was not completed

until about three o'clock in the afternoon. The greater part of the time during this beautiful Sunday we distinctly heard the battle of Sedgwick with the troops occupying the heights near Fredericksburg, and also at intervals the dull sound of battle going on in the direction of Chancellorsville. In the excitement necessarily present on the battle-field, courageous men forget danger, the real taking the place of the imaginary; but there is something in the sound of distant battle, in the booming of cannon or in the roll of musketry, that sets the thoughts vividly to work, especially when the listener knows that he may soon have to bear his part in the struggle.

Immediately after the last plank was laid the brigade commenced crossing, and Colonel R. Penn Smith's Seventy-First Regiment was deployed as skirmishers, occupying the ridge about three-fourths of a mile from and parallel with the river. In the mean time a field telegraph had been constructed from our position, by way of the north bank, to United States Ford, and thence to General Hooker's headquarters, near Chancellorsville. One of the first messages sent over the wire was, "General Hooker, the bridges are laid at Banks's Ford." The reply to this information was of course not imparted to the troops, and being utterly at a loss to see how these bridges could help Sedgwick at Marye's Heights, or Hooker's force at Chancellorsville, with their usual ingenuity they circulated the report that the reply to Benham's dispatch was, "The general commanding desires to know of what earthly use are the bridges you have built."

General Benham, the chief of the pontoniers, was too old to be moved by mere camp rumors, and mount-

ing his horse he crossed the river, and after making observations on the extreme front, he dispatched to General Hooker the message,—“General Sedgwick is driving the enemy due north at precisely six o’clock.” At the same time the adjutant of the brigade started in the direction of Sedgwick’s firing to find that officer and personally notify him of the construction of the bridges and their location. The old commander was found after dark, three or four miles from the ford, bivouacking with his troops, lying on the ground, looking anxious for the morrow and the further result of his unequal struggle.

After advancing from Fredericksburg, the first serious opposition encountered by Sedgwick was on the heights near Salem Church; here the enemy, reinforced by a brigade, under Wilcox, that had been disputing our landing, made a determined resistance, and the fight continued, with varying success, until night; and it was after this action that Sedgwick’s forces were resting on their arms and awaiting the events of the coming day.

During Monday, May 4th, there was considerable and heavy skirmishing in the early part of the day. In anticipation of an attempt to cut the column off from Banks’s Ford, General Sedgwick made arrangements looking to his communications. The division of General Howe was faced to the rear, the left resting on the river, while the remainder of the line of battle connecting with it extended to the plank road, and from it turned to the right, extending along the road for the distance of a mile, where it again turned at right angles towards the river. At six in the evening Howe was attacked by the enemy, the charge being made by brigades in echelon. This fight was very severe, but resulted in a victory for

Howe's troops after a very spirited counter-charge, in which they captured three battle-flags and a number of prisoners. This ended Sedgwick's fighting for the day.

Some of the prisoners captured by our brigade stated that they had been marched to both fronts, Hooker's, at Chancellorsville, and Sedgwick's, near Salem Heights, twice or three times within twenty-four hours. The operations of our forces appeared to have been conducted without any attempt at simultaneous effort, and in this way gave the enemy the full use of his entire force, while one of our columns was kept in idleness.

General Howe's Division was ordered to the river as soon as darkness concealed the movement, while the other portion of Sedgwick's command occupied the heights near the ford. On Tuesday the 5th, at one A.M., General Sedgwick received orders from Hooker to "withdraw from his position, cross the river, take up the bridge, and cover the ford."

The entire picket-line was now formed by the Philadelphia Brigade, with orders to hold the heights until the last of Sedgwick's command had crossed the river, then to withdraw as quietly as possible. A short time before daylight the Sixth Corps had completed the movement with their artillery and ammunition wagons, and were out of their trouble.

Immediately in our front the Confederates were awaiting dawn to renew the attack, and it required care in relieving the line to conceal our movements and prevent any loss of men. The task was successfully accomplished, and by daylight our brigade was on its way to its old quarters near Falmouth, where it arrived at nine A.M. The night of the 5th General Hooker recrossed at

United States Ford. Fighting Joe had his "slant" at Lee, and the moment success seemed to dawn, failure of result commenced.

After our return to camp the brigade was formed for inspection. During our isolation from the rest of the corps there had been an accumulation of orders, which were now received and published for the information of the troops. Among these papers was a manifesto from Hooker, which, under the circumstances that surrounded us at the time it was officially read, made it a little inappropriate :

"SOLDIERS,—The events of the last three days prove that the enemy must either ingloriously flee, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on his own ground, where certain destruction awaits him."

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE MARCH AFTER LEE.

THE period immediately succeeding the Chancellorsville campaign was one of temporary quiet. Both armies appeared to be counting the losses and considering the result of the conflicts. The army of Hooker lost seventeen thousand one hundred and ninety-seven killed, wounded, and missing. In addition to this loss of men, the waste of material of war was enormous. The army of Lee suffered to the extent of ten thousand two hundred and eighty-one in casualties, and among its losses was one officer who could not be replaced: "Stonewall" Jackson, who fell by the fire of his own men.

There was not the same demoralization in the army after Chancellorsville as that which followed Burnside's repulse. It is true, the rank and file felt they had failed; but were puzzled to know how they had been defeated without fighting a decisive battle. It is safe to say that the reputation of the general commanding was severely affected by the result, and without the redeeming feature of Burnside in assuming personal responsibility for his failure.

The total strength of the brigade after Chancellorsville was two thousand and twenty-one; and of this number there were present for duty sixteen hundred and



ninety-six. There were no changes of importance in the commanding officers of regiments, except in the Seventy-First. Lieutenant-Colonel John Markoe having resigned on account of his wounds, Major R. Penn Smith was promoted to colonel, Captain C. Kochersperger to lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Enoch E. Lewis to major. To fill the vacancy made by the promotion of Adjutant Charles S. Newlin to a captaincy, the Governor of Pennsylvania had commissioned Lieutenant S. P. Hutchinson.

In the Sixty-Ninth, under the command of Colonel Dennis O'Kane since the promotion of General Owen, Adjutant Martin Tschudy was made lieutenant-colonel, and James Duffy was promoted from captain of Company A to major. Quartermaster James Gleason, of this regiment, a faithful and popular officer, was made captain and assistant quartermaster, and assigned to the brigade.

In the regimental line officers there were a number of changes, and among these the following persons were honorably discharged upon surgeons' certificates of disability from disease, or wounds received in action :

Major John Devereux, Jr., 69th, March 26th, 1863.

Captain James O'Reilly, 69th, April 27th.

Captain Patrick Moran, 69th, February 21st.

Lieutenant Hugh Flood, 69th, March 27th.

Lieutenant Andrew Lovett, 69th, April 9th.

Lieutenant John King, 69th, March 14th.

Lieutenant Samuel McKeown, 69th, March 20th.

Lieutenant Joseph M. Kelly, 69th, March 4th.

Lieutenant John F. Smith, 71st, March 6th.

Captain Francis McBride, 72d, March 27th.

Lieutenant Benjamin F. Sloanaker, 106th, June 4th.

Captain Francis H. Acuff, 106th, April 16th.

The Seventy-First lost a valuable officer in Captain E. Carlyle Norris, who died May 1st, 1863, of wounds received in action. In the Sixty-Ninth Regiment, Captain Andrew McManus, a brave and spirited man, came to an untimely end on May 27th, in an altercation with a comrade. In the One Hundred and Sixth, Captain Ralph W. P. Allen was discharged to accept promotion.

The vacancies produced by these and other changes were filled by promotions, generally based upon meritorious service. The annexed list gives the grade on entering the service, with the promotion about this date, of non-commissioned officers and privates:

The Sixty-Ninth Regiment promoted—

Sergeant-Major Thomas P. Norman, first lieutenant, July 1st.

Private Michael Fay, second lieutenant, May 1st.

Sergeant Charles McAnally, first lieutenant, May 1st.

Private John J. Taggart, second lieutenant, June 5th.

Sergeant-Major John Ryan, first lieutenant, May 1st.

Sergeant Michael Duffy, captain, May 1st.

Sergeant William Whilley, first lieutenant, May 1st.

Sergeant John H. Johnson, second lieutenant, May 1st.

The Seventy-First Regiment—

Sergeant Joseph S. Watt, second lieutenant, June 5th.

Sergeant J. T. Smallwood, second lieutenant, June 5th.

Sergeant-Major Jacob S. Devine, first lieutenant, March 1st.

Sergeant Frederick Everts, second lieutenant, June 5th.

Sergeant John D. Rogers, first lieutenant, June 5th.

Sergeant James Clark, second lieutenant, June 5th.

Sergeant Thomas J. Rush, captain, June 5th.

Sergeant R. W. Hemphill, second lieutenant, June 5th.

The Seventy-Second Regiment—

Sergeant James V. Schreiner, first lieutenant, February 27th.

Quartermaster-Sergeant Henry Russell, second lieutenant, January 25th.

Sergeant Robert Stewart, second lieutenant, May 1st.

Private Frederick Boland, second lieutenant, May 1st.

Sergeant Alexander McCuen, second lieutenant, January 1st.

Sergeant Thomas J. Rorer, first lieutenant, May 1st.

Sergeant Sutton Jones, second lieutenant, January 1st.

Sergeant Abram Heulings, first lieutenant, August 25th.

Sergeant E. B. Whittaker, second lieutenant, May 1st.

Sergeant John D. Lavis, second lieutenant, January 1st.

Sergeant Jacob Glenn, second lieutenant, May 1st.

Sergeant-Major J. W. Sunderland, first lieutenant, January 1st.

The One Hundred and Sixth Regiment—

Sergeant Harry Neville, second lieutenant, May 1st.

Sergeant Jacob M. Miller, first lieutenant, April 17th.

Sergeant-Major William A. Hagy, second lieutenant, May 1st.

Sergeant John F. Hassett, first lieutenant, February 24th.

Sergeant William B. Rose, second lieutenant, May 1st.

Quartermaster-Sergeant Samuel L. Hibbs, first lieutenant, March 1st.

Corporal H. B. Rutherford, second lieutenant, May 1st.

The month of May was passed in the vicinity of the old camp, and the time was employed in drills and reviews. The brigade at the same time received some new recruits, who were placed under the instruction of non-commissioned officers of the regiment.

Towards the latter part of the month it became evident that the Confederate army was preparing for some important movement. Troops could be seen changing their locations, and new camps appeared on the south side of Fredericksburg. The pickets of the enemy became more bold and insolent, evidently exhibiting the feeling of confidence imparted to their entire army by the battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

General Hooker apparently understood that the enemy were preparing to move, but in which direction or for what purpose he failed to ascertain until Lee had his corps well under way. On June 6th, Sedgwick was ordered to recross the Rappahannock at Franklin's old crossing and make a reconnoissance. The information obtained by this movement was of no great value. The Sixth Corps reported the enemy in force on the heights; but brought back no information about Lee.

On June 9th, General Pleasonton was ordered to try a movement towards Culpeper, with two divisions of cavalry and two brigades of infantry. This force formed in two columns, crossed the river at Kelly's and Beverley Fords, and moved on converging roads towards Culpeper. The enemy were met near Brandy Station, and a severe engagement occurred in which the entire cavalry of both armies took part. Our troops finally drew off and recrossed the Rappahannock, not without inflicting as heavy blows as they had received; but what was of

much more importance, bringing intelligence through captured papers of the projected Confederate invasion of the North. This information, with other news from scouts, gave the startling intelligence that while the Army of the Potomac was lying at Falmouth, General Lee in an extended column was heading towards Winchester. These confirmations of suspicions already entertained in Washington caused great excitement in that city, and General Hooker no doubt received from it more calls for information than he could answer, and orders than could be readily obeyed. Some of these directions from the President and General Halleck, when read in the light of history, are very interesting. On the 10th, Hooker telegraphed his theory of the Confederate movements, and received a dispatch containing these expressions: "I think Lee's army, and not Richmond, is your true objective point." "Fight him, too, when opportunity offers. If he stays where he is, fret him and fret him."

When on the 14th Hooker telegraphed the definite information of Lee's movement, the President again replied: "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere; could you not break him?"

"A. LINCOLN."

The uncertainty dispelled, Hooker set about energetically moving towards Washington, and at the same time covering the line of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. A portion of the army whose position could not be seen by Hill's Corps, which was still occupying

Fredericksburg, moved on the 13th to Bealton, and from it to Warrenton.

On Sunday the 14th, our division was ordered to move at very short notice. Tents were not struck till after dark, although everything else to be carried in wagons was ready and packed. At about midnight the Second Division, the last of the army, moved from Falmouth, obstructing the roads behind the column. At noon, June 15th, the command reached Stafford Court-House, where it halted two hours; then resuming the march, bivouacked at night five miles from Dumfries. The day was very hot, the roads were filled with dust, and the march of twenty-eight miles was so oppressive that a number of the men fell from sunstroke and exhaustion.

At two A.M. on the 16th, the brigade started from Dumfries, where we halted a few hours. After taking up the march through Wolf Run Shoals, Occoquan Creek, we camped for the night on a fine farm belonging to an old bachelor named Steele, who was very anxious that we should raise money to pay for the damage to his crops. He did not succeed, his uninvited guests being ragged and penniless. On the 17th we reached Sangster's Station, Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Here the corps formed in line of battle, facing towards Bull Run.

After manœuvering and countermarching, the command started on the 20th through Bull Run and Gainesville to Thoroughfare Gap, where we arrived at midnight. The last part of this march was very severe, and in the darkness men frequently stumbled over rocks and into ditches. One man marching near the writer, who had no doubt heard the inquiry so frequently,

"How far off is the Gap?" suddenly fell into a deep hole; on being asked by his comrade "what he was doing," he naively replied, "I am stopping that gap."

The Second Corps remained at this place guarding the pass until the morning of June 25th. Two miles below this point there was a less frequented road, but one easy of access, which was effectually blocked up for some time to come by a detachment from the brigade, who were furnished with axes with which trees were felled in large numbers and thrown across the road.

After leaving Thoroughfare Gap, the division was assailed by a battery while marching through Hay Market. Before this was silenced a few of the command were killed and wounded. Passing through Cub Run, the column crossed the Potomac at Edward's Ferry at eleven o'clock on the night of June 26th.

The next day the march was continued beyond Barnestown, Maryland; and on the 28th, our corps arrived two miles from Frederick, where the brigade was ordered to establish a picket covering the right of the corps near the Monocacy.

On the day of our arrival at this point General Hooker, at his own request, was relieved from command, and Major-General George G. Meade, commanding the Fifth Corps, was designated as commander-in-chief in his stead. There were other changes made of subordinate commanders at the same time. Among these was the assignment of Brigadier-General Alexander S. Webb to command the Second Brigade as successor to Brigadier-General Owen.

General Webb, although an officer of note in the regular service, was unknown to the majority of the

command; but his force of character and personal gallantry soon won the regard of the regiments to as great an extent as that obtained by any of his predecessors. At the time General Webb reported for duty, the brigade was composed of—

	Total Present and Absent.	Present.	
		Officers.	Men.
General Staff.	4	4	
69th P. V.	459	32	312
71st P. V.	538	27	366
72d P. V.	745	26	447
106th P. V.	477	30	313
Brigade Band.	16		16
	2239	119	1454



## CHAPTER XVI.

### GETTYSBURG.

THE appointment of General Meade was so entirely unexpected that it took the whole army by surprise; it was, nevertheless, received with universal satisfaction, and all who knew him expressed their determination to give him cordial co-operation. The following address, issued on his taking command, is a truthful illustration of the patriotic and modest character of a brave and skillful officer, whose deeds are known throughout the land, and whose memory will always be cherished in the hearts of his countrymen:

“HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
“June 28th, 1863.

“By direction of the President of the United States, I hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac. As a soldier, in obeying this order,—an order totally unexpected and unsolicited,—I have no promises or pledges to make. The country looks to this army to relieve it from the devastation and disgrace of a hostile invasion. Whatever fatigues and sacrifices we may be called upon to undergo, let us have in view constantly the magnitude of the interests involved, and let each man determine to do his duty, leaving to an all-controlling Providence

the decision of the contest. It is with just diffidence that I relieve of the command of this army an eminent and accomplished soldier, whose name must ever appear conspicuous in the history of its achievements; but I rely upon the hearty support of my companions in arms to assist me in the discharge of the duties of the important trust which has been confided to me.

“GEORGE G. MEADE,  
“Major-General Commanding.”

At the time General Hooker was relieved of his command there had been no indication of his plan of the campaign, and his successor was left entirely free to shape his own course. Richmond was no longer thought of, but, in the language of the President, “The army of Lee was the objective point.”

On June 28th, Longstreet's and Hill's Corps of the Confederate army were at Chambersburg, and Ewell was at York and Carlisle. General Lee was just ready to advance on Harrisburg, when he ascertained the location of the Union army, and at once changed his plan and began concentrating on the east side of the mountains. These movements were commenced on Monday, June 29th. On the same day General Meade put his columns in motion towards Unionville, Taneytown, and Gettysburg. Thus, the hostile armies were approaching each other, fully realizing that a great battle was imminent, at the same time completely in the dark as to where the conflict would occur.

In the operations of Meade the cavalry under Buford were in the advance, and they were thrown out well to the left flank. Moving in the same general direction

towards Emmettsburg were the First Corps, under Reynolds, and the Eleventh, under Howard. At the same time the Third and Twelfth were headed for Taneytown, the Second and Fifth towards Frizzleburg, and the Sixth to Westminster.

Gettysburg, the county town of Adams, towards which the armies were moving, lies at the base of one of the ranges of South Mountain ; its location is central, a number of converging roads making it easy of access from every direction. The Emmettsburg road, by which Reynolds was advancing, comes in on the southwest, the Taneytown road enters on the south, while the road from Westminster, by which the Sixth Corps was advancing, comes in on the southeast ; the roads by which the Confederates were moving from Chambersburg enter on the northwest, while Ewell's Corps, in its retreat from York and the vicinity of Harrisburg, approached by the York road on the northeast.

The advance of the Second Corps was begun early on the morning of June 29th, and, with but few halts, it was continued throughout the day. After tramping through the stifling dust under a burning sun, in heavy marching order, Uniontown was reached, a distance of more than thirty-one miles, where the troops remained during the 30th. On July 1st the advance was again resumed until a point was reached four miles from Gettysburg, where a halt was made.

While on the march we heard the sounds of the battle which took place between our advance under Major-General John F. Reynolds and that of the Confederates, and an aid arrived with the sad news of the death of that gallant officer, after which General Hancock, the

corps commander, rode rapidly to the front to assume command, by direction of General Meade. Upon his arrival he found the First and Eleventh Corps considerably shattered and in confusion, falling back through the town towards Cemetery Hill.

On the south of Gettysburg and immediately adjoining the town there is a series of heights and hills, commencing with the Cemetery and extending towards the south, terminating in a knob of considerable elevation called Round Top. To the right of Cemetery Hill, as the spectator faces the north, is Culp's Hill, and from it, bending around Cemetery Hill and following the ridge south to Round Top, is a distance of four miles, the locality forming a natural position for a line of battle in the shape of a fish-hook, the barb being Culp's Hill and the shank ending in the rocky eminence of Round Top.

Hancock quickly decided to keep possession of the key of this line, and, aided by Generals Howard, Warren, and Buford, he made the preliminary dispositions. Cemetery Hill was held by Howard's troops, and these were joined on the right by Wadsworth's Division of the First Corps, who occupied Culp's Hill. On the left of Howard, along Cemetery Ridge, were placed the remaining two divisions of the First Corps, while the Twelfth, under Slocum, which arrived about evening, assisted in prolonging the line. General Slocum now assumed command, and Hancock rejoined the Second Corps, after reporting to Meade the strength of the position for a defensive battle.

On July 2d, at early dawn, the corps was moved to the front, and placed in position along Cemetery Ridge,

connecting on its right with the left of Howard's Corps ; while the Third Corps, under Sickles, was ordered to connect on the left and extend to Round Top.

The Philadelphia Brigade, before taking its place in line, was massed on the edge of a wood, near the Taneytown road, and a field return was made by the adjutant of each regiment. Out of the entire number present for duty when General Webb assumed command at Frederick, there were but thirteen men absent without leave ; and some of these, who had given out on the march, rejoined their comrades before the action. The enthusiasm of the men was raised to the highest pitch by the address of Meade, containing the stirring sentiments, "The enemy is now on our soil. The whole country looks anxiously to this army to deliver it from the presence of the foe. Our failure to do so will leave us no such welcome as the smiling of millions of hearts with pride and joy at our success would give to every soldier of the army."

The battle of Gettysburg has been more minutely and accurately described than any other great struggle of the war. Fought upon the soil of Pennsylvania, with results directly affecting the fate of its principal towns, there are but few intelligent citizens who are not acquainted with the movements of the contending armies ; while many are familiar with the topography of the field from personal observation, or the excellent "isometrical map" of Colonel Batchelder.

The entire Army of the Potomac, with the exception of one brigade of the Sixth Corps, was engaged in this contest, and from its magnitude and its results that army has secured imperishable glory for all its warriors.

Notwithstanding this, there have been accounts carelessly published in some of the histories of the war, especially by an unknown party in "Moore's Rebellion Record," grossly misrepresenting the heroic efforts of the brigade. The writer has omitted from his description of this battle, as well as from his reports of many others in which the command took an active part, any statement of operations except such as were necessary to illustrate more fully the brigade line and work. Accounts of the battle of Gettysburg in quotation marks are from the official report of the brigade commander, Brigadier-General Alexander S. Webb, whose statements none will gainsay, while many of the interesting incidents or the operations given in detail are from personal observation.

"By order of Brigadier-General Gibbon, commanding the division, this brigade was put in position at six and a half o'clock A.M. on the 2d, on Granite Ridge, on the right of the division; its right resting on Cushing's Battery, A, Fourth United States Artillery, and its left on Battery B, First Rhode Island Artillery, Lieutenant Brown commanding. The Sixty-Ninth Regiment was placed behind a fence a little in advance of the ridge, the remaining three regiments of the brigade under cover of the hill in the rear. Brown's Battery was, in the course of the day, removed to the front of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment. It remained at this point until the assault at six and a half P.M."

Immediately after assuming this position, a detail, ordered from each regiment, was advanced as skirmishers beyond the Emmettsburg road and parallel with the Confederate line of battle on Seminary Ridge. This

disposition was scarcely completed before the enemy opened with sharp-shooters and artillery. "During the day, both of the batteries on the flanks of the brigade engaged those of the enemy, the shelling wounding but few."

From the ridge occupied by Webb's Brigade a fine view was obtained of the attack made by the Confederates on Sickles's Corps in the afternoon, and it soon became apparent that the Third Corps must abandon its faulty line and prolong that already occupied by the Second Corps. General Hancock, quick to anticipate a movement, had scarcely prepared to receive an assault as the result of Sickles's discomfiture, before the enemy were seen advancing.

A few hundred yards in front of our line of battle and towards the left, a farm-house and buildings were located. To prevent these affording cover to the enemy, they were occupied by the brigade pioneers under Sergeant Dietrick, of the One Hundred and Sixth, with orders to destroy them upon a signal from General Webb. During the fight of Sickles, the brigade skirmishers were engaged for an hour with those of the enemy, both parties suffering losses but neither giving ground. This contest was also in full view of the entire corps, and the manly bearing of their comrades was a matter of pride to the men of the Philadelphia Brigade. That portion of the field lying between Granite and Seminary Ridge being an open plain without trees or shelter, the contests of our skirmishers were literally a series of duels fought with rifles at an easy range.

"The enemy made the assault of the 2d at about six and a half P.M. Their line of battle advanced beyond

one gun of Brown's Battery, receiving at that point the fire of the Sixty-Ninth, of the Seventy-First, advanced to the support of the Sixty-Ninth, of the Seventy-Second, and of the One Hundred and Sixth, which had previously been moved to the left by command of Major-General Hancock. Colonel Baxter, Seventy-Second, at this time was wounded. The enemy halted, manœuvred and fell back, pursued by the One Hundred and Sixth, Seventy-Second, and part of the Seventy-First. The Seventy-Second and One Hundred and Sixth followed them to the Emmettsburg road, capturing and sending to the rear about two hundred and fifty prisoners, among whom were one colonel, five captains, and fifteen lieutenants."

This assault, thus officially reported by Webb, was executed with much celerity; and when the column of the enemy burst forth from the woods on Seminary Ridge, it seemed but a few moments before the Emmettsburg road was crossed, and our skirmishers driven like leaves before the fierce wind. As the Confederates advanced, Brown's Battery, with the exception of one gun, was withdrawn to the rear of the Sixty-Ninth. Over this piece there was a brief struggle, but the fire of the brigade was terribly severe, causing the enemy to hesitate and then fall back. Those of the Confederates in the lead threw down their guns and cried out with an oath, "Get us out of this; it is too hot."

And now a counter-charge was handsomely made by the regiments named in the report, along with those of other brigades; the assaulting column was rolled back almost as quickly as it had advanced. The skirmish line was reformed on its old connection, and shortly



after, night coming on, the fight on our portion of the line was over for the 2d of July.

The pioneers in their exposed position were made prisoners by the enemy, and the guard left by the captors remained at the farm-house with their charge intending to move to the rear as soon as the heavy firing was over. This decision was fortunate for our detail, but unfortunate for the enemy, as the advance of Webb's regiments soon swept by the improvised guard-house and changed the relations of its occupants.

The colonel who was captured was an officer of a Georgia regiment, and as our men passed him in the charge he was lying on the ground wounded, with a captain bending over him trying to render assistance. After the victory was complete and the line re-established, the captain said, "This officer is the colonel of my regiment, and from the same place in Georgia; I was afraid he would bleed to death from his wound, and I have remained to see that he is cared for. Won't you get him a surgeon? I love him dearly." This request was complied with, and the same treatment promised as that received by the rest of the wounded. As soon as he was assured of the care of his friend, the captain requested that he might be allowed to rejoin his command. On being told that this chivalrous request, worthy of the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, could not be granted, he was sadly disappointed, saying to one of our officers, "You saw that I could have escaped. I was not taken prisoner, but simply remained to save the life of my friend." This Southern knight was turned over to the provost guard, and no doubt spent a few months of involuntary exile among the "barbarians."

The Sixty-Ninth Regiment lost, on this day, Captain Michael Duffy, Company I, and Lieutenant Charles Kelly, killed; and Lieutenants John J. Taggart, E. O. Harmon, John H. Johnson, and Michael Mullen, wounded.

In the Seventy-Second, Colonel D. W. C. Baxter, while leading his men, was severely wounded, and at the same time Captain Henry A. Cook was disabled by a minie-ball.

The One Hundred and Sixth lost Lieutenant W. H. Smith, killed, and the following officers wounded: Captains John Breidenbach and John J. Sperry; Lieutenants Charles S. Schwartz, John Irwin, William May, W. M. Casey, Joshua A. Gage, and Adjutant Ferd. M. Pleiss, mortally. The last-named officer behaved handsomely in this and other engagements, and his loss was deplored by the men of his regiment, with whom he was very popular.

The plan of battle that had been prepared by General Lee included a demonstration in force by Ewell upon Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill, while Longstreet was fighting Sickles on our left. For some reason the attack of Ewell on our extreme right did not commence until after the counter-charge of Hancock's Corps. It was sunset before the enemy opened with artillery on Cemetery Hill, followed by a powerful attack by two of Ewell's Divisions: one on Cemetery Hill and the other on Culp's Hill.

The attack on the former position was exceedingly spirited. The troops moved out from the town, formed into line, and charged directly in face of a heavy fire of shrapnel and canister, but failed to reach our guns, being

repulsed with heavy loss. The right wing of the column of assault on the Cemetery was more successful; stealing up under cover of the houses and depressions of the ground, they pushed into Rickett's Battery. The artillerymen stood to their guns, using rammers and stones. The firmness of these men, aided by Carroll's Brigade of the Second Corps, repulsed the attack, and the position was saved.

The division assigned by Ewell for the attack of Culp's Hill was more successful. It struck that portion of the extreme right occupied by the Twelfth Corps, and from which heavy detachments had been drawn to reinforce other portions of the field, during the operations of the afternoon. There remained at this point but a single brigade of the Twelfth Corps under General Greene, supported by the division of Wadsworth, connecting on the left. The heaviest attack fell upon Greene, who, assisted by Wadsworth, maintained his ground. The left of Ewell's Division, which overlapped this little brigade, took possession of the vacated rifle-pits on their right. It was long after dark when the fighting ceased, and both parties lay on their arms within a short distance of each other.

General Meade was not slow to perceive the advantage this foothold had given the enemy, and promptly made preparations to drive him out at early dawn. Batteries were put in position and regiments detached from other points to reinforce Howard's Corps on Cemetery Hill and the position held by the brigade of General Greene.

The One Hundred and Sixth Regiment was ordered to report to General Howard, who placed it on the right

of the Baltimore pike, near Rickett's Battery, where it remained until the close of the battle. This regiment was highly complimented by Howard, who is reported as commending it to his somewhat shattered corps, as "one of the regiments of his old brigade."

The Seventy-First, under Colonel R. Penn Smith, was ordered to move at the same time with the One Hundred and Sixth and reinforce General Greene. By some misunderstanding, Colonel Smith, in attempting to go into position, found himself in the presence of a strong force of the enemy, and owing to the darkness and want of familiarity with the ground, Lieutenants Davis and Boughton, with Adjutant Hutchinson and sixteen of the men acting as skirmishers, were taken prisoners. After this, Colonel Smith assumed the responsibility of re-joining his brigade, which he did before daylight.

The division of Ewell's Corps that had gained a lodgment near Culp's Hill was considerably strengthened during the night, but before they were ready to advance, at early dawn, Meade opened on them with a heavy fire of artillery, followed by an attack with the troops of the Twelfth Corps, which returned during the night, and by Shaler's Brigade of the Sixth Corps.

A severe struggle now commenced, lasting for four hours, and during a part of this time the roll of musketry, the roar of artillery, and the bursting of shells were deafening. The scene of conflict was for the most part covered with woods, and the large number of trees cut to pieces with minie-balls or twisted and torn by flying missiles gave evidence of a terrific struggle. At about nine A.M. there was a determined charge made by our troops, resulting in victory. The line on Culp's Hill

was now re-established and the right flank of the army secured.

On the morning of July 3d the Sixty-Ninth Regiment occupied the same line at the fence in front of the clump of trees on the ridge that it held the day before, while the Seventy-First was deployed and connected with its right. One wing of this last regiment was stationed at the fence, while the other was behind a stone wall one hundred paces to the right and rear. These echelon positions were connected by a stone wall running at right angles with the rail fence, and joining the wall occupied by the right battalion. The Seventy-Second Regiment was held in reserve, forming a second line to the left of Brown's Battery and in rear of Colonel Hall's Third Brigade.

After the contest at Culp's Hill there was a momentary pause in the operations of both armies. This unusual calm was only broken by an occasional gun or the discharge of a sharp-shooter's rifle. About one o'clock, while the men were wondering what the next movement would be in this great battle, a single Whitworth gun was fired from the extreme left of Seminary Ridge, a distance of three miles. The bolt just reached the right of our brigade. Then at intervals along the entire line solitary shots were fired, as if intended for signal-guns of preparation. These were quickly followed by others, and in a few moments there burst forth from the whole Confederate line a most terrific fire of artillery. One hundred and twenty guns concentrated their fire on that portion of Meade's position held by the Second Division, Second Corps. Shell, round shot, Whitworth bolts, and spherical case were flying over and exploding about us

at the same time. Almost every second, ten of these missiles were in the air; each, as it went speeding on its message of death, indicating its form by a peculiar sound. The shrieking of shells or the heavy thud of round shot were easily distinguished from the rotary whizzing of the Whitworth bolt.

When these agents of destruction commenced their horrid work, no portion of the line, from the front to a point far in the rear of the Taneytown road, afforded any protection against their fury. Men who had been struck while serving the guns and were limping towards the hospital, were frequently wounded again before they had gone a hundred yards.

In spite of the ghastly forms of mangled men and horses, and in spite of dismounted guns, exploding limbers, and other scenes of terror, produced by Lee's attack, the guns of Meade roared back their defiance; while the infantry, powerless for the moment, rested on their arms awaiting the bayonet-charge which they knew was sure to follow.

Webb reports, "By a quarter to three o'clock the enemy had silenced the Rhode Island Battery, all the guns but one of Cushing's Battery, and had plainly shown, by his concentration of fire on this and the Third Brigade, that an important assault was to be expected. I had sent, at two P.M., the adjutant-general of the brigade for two batteries to replace Cushing's and Brown's. Just before the assault, Captain Wheeler's First New York Artillery had got into position on the left in the place occupied by the Rhode Island Battery, which had retired with the loss of all its officers but one."

By a singular coincidence, the battery of Wheeler, now brought to the assistance of the brigade in its deadly struggle, had formed a part of the command at Camp Observation, and since it had been detached the two organizations had not met.

Webb's officer had a blank order from General Hunt for a battery to be taken from any point where it was not actually engaged. Wheeler was with the reserve in the rear of Howard, and the moment the order was received, he started his battery on a trot down the Taneytown road towards the field. His progress was impeded every few yards by the missiles of the enemy; horses were struck down, but the traces were quickly cut and the guns started again. Wheeler was perfectly cool in this storm of iron, and simply said, "I hope no one will get there before me."

When the New York Battery arrived and went into action, Lieutenant Cushing had but one of his guns left, and it was served by men of the Seventy-First Regiment. The lieutenant had been struck by a fragment of shell, but stood by his piece as calmly as if on parade, and as the Confederate infantry commenced to emerge from the woods opposite, Cushing quietly said, "Webb, I will give them one shot more; good-by!" The gun was loaded by the California men and run down to the fence near the Sixty-Ninth, and at the moment of the last discharge, just as the enemy reached the line, the brave Cushing fell mortally wounded.

"At three o'clock the enemy's line of battle left the woods in our front, moved in perfect order across the Emmettsburg road, formed in the hollow in our immediate front several lines of battle under a fire of spherical

case-shot from Wheeler's Battery and Cushing's gun, and advanced for the assault."

The Union batteries increased their fire as rapidly as possible, but this did not for a moment delay the determined advance. The rude gaps torn by the shells and case-shot were closed as quickly as they were made. As new batteries opened, the additional fire created no confusion in the ranks of the enemy; its only apparent effect was to mark the pathway over the mile of advance with the dead and dying. None who saw this magnificent charge of Pickett's column, composed of thousands of brave men, could refrain from admiring its grandeur. As they approached the rail fence their formation was irregular, and near the front and centre were crowded together the regimental colors of the entire division; the scene strangely illustrated the divine words, "Terrible as an army with banners."

Now our men close up their ranks and await the struggle. The Seventy-Second, by direction of Webb, is double-quickened from its position on the left and fills the gap on the ridge where Cushing's Battery had been in action. Just at this moment Pickett's men reach the line occupied by the Sixty-Ninth and the left companies of the Seventy-First. General Armistead, commanding the leading brigade, composed principally of Virginians, in advance of his men, swinging his hat on his sword, cries out, "Boys, give them the cold steel!" Just then the white trefoil on the caps of our men is recognized, and Armistead's men exclaim, "The Army of the Potomac! Do they call these militia?"

The final effort for success now commences. The advance companies of the Seventy-First are literally



crowded out of their places by the enemy, and, with one company of the Sixty-Ninth, they form with the remainder of Colonel Smith's command at the stone fence. At the same instant, Colonel Hall's Third Brigade and the regiments of the First under Devereux and other officers, as if by instinct, rush to Webb's assistance, while Colonel Stannard moves two regiments of the Vermont Brigade to strike the attacking column in the flank.

And now is the moment when the battle rages most furiously. Armistead, with a hundred and fifty of his Virginians, is inside our lines; only a few paces from our brigade commander, they look each other in the face. The artillery of the enemy ceases to fire, and the gunners of their batteries are plainly seen standing on their caissons to view the result, hoping for success; while Pettigrew's Division, following to support Pickett, halts as if terrified at the scene. This is the soldier's part of the fight; tactics and alignments are thrown to one side. No effort is made to preserve a formation. Union men are intermingled with the enemy, and in some cases surrounded by them, but refusing to surrender. Rifles, bayonets, and clubbed muskets are freely used, and men on both sides rapidly fall.

This struggle lasts but a few moments, when the enemy in the front throw down their arms, and, rushing through the line of the Seventy-Second, hasten to the rear as prisoners without a guard; while others of the column who might have escaped, unwilling to risk a retreat over the path by which they came, surrender. The battle is over, the last attack of Lee at Gettysburg is repulsed, and the highest wave of the Rebellion has reached its farthest limit, ever after to recede.

General Armistead, who was in the Confederate front, fell mortally wounded, close to the colors of the Seventy-Second. One of the men of that regiment who was near him, asked permission of the writer to carry him out of the battle, saying, "He has called for help, as *the son of a widow*." An order was given to take him to an ambulance, and when his revolver was removed from his belt, it was seen that he had obeyed his own command, "to give the cold steel," as no shot had been fired from it.

Among the many curious episodes of this fight, there was one which gives a novel view of the imposing claims of a chivalrous Southerner. While the struggle was going on, Corporal Esher, of the Seventy-Second, captured an officer, who was considerably his superior in size as well as in rank; and as he was trying to get him to the rear of the line, they met one of Webb's officers, to whom the Southerner said, "Are you an officer?" "I am, sir; what is the trouble?" With fierce anger on his countenance, he answered, "I came here to be treated as a gentleman, and here is a private soldier who has taken my sword." In answer to the inquiry, "Why did you give it to him?" he sullenly muttered, "How could I help it, when he had a loaded musket at my breast?" This Virginian had evidently seen a picture of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown. With a little friendly advice, the gentleman was sent to the rear to keep company with the Georgia knight of the day before.

The moment the attack was repulsed and the excitement of the battle was over, the mournful inquiry passed from one to another, Who of our comrades have fallen?

During the fight, those of us who were with the rest of the brigade knew nothing of the Sixty-Ninth, except as we heard their cheers and the crack of their rifles. Partly concealed from view by the clump of trees, and for a brief time cut off by the enemy in their rear, we only knew that they always stayed where they were placed. They did not fail on this occasion to hold their ground, though at a fearful sacrifice. The regiment entered the battle of Gettysburg with two hundred and fifty-eight officers and men. Of these, six officers and thirty-six men were killed, seven officers and seventy-six men were wounded, and two officers and sixteen men taken prisoners; an aggregate loss of one hundred and forty-three. Colonel Dennis O'Kane and Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Tschudy, two of as brave men as ever drew a sword, who had served in every engagement with the regiment, were among the slain. Captains Michael Duffy and George C. Thompson, and Lieutenant Charles F. Kelly, men of equal courage, were also killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Tschudy, though suffering with a wound received on the 2d of July, resolutely refused to leave his regiment. Major Duffy, who succeeded to the command after the loss of the colonel and lieutenant-colonel, was severely wounded during the fight, but kept his post until the battle was over. In addition to the officers previously mentioned as wounded, are Lieutenants John McIlvane and Thomas Woods.

The casualties in the Seventy-First were also large. There were two officers and nineteen men killed, and three officers and fifty-five enlisted men wounded. Captains John M. Steffan and William H. Dull were killed, and Lieutenants John D. Rogers and George C. Whitecar

were wounded. From its position behind the stone wall this regiment did good service, its fire being made unusually effective by a new precaution of Colonel R. Penn Smith commanding. After the fight of the 2d, he caused a large number of rifles that were left on the ground to be gathered up by his men and carried to the regiment. These pieces were loaded and distributed along the line, rendering it possible, when the enemy came within range, for the Seventy-First to fire a number of shots rapidly without reloading.

The Seventy-Second having the largest number of men, and a very dangerous position, suffered in these actions an aggregate loss heavier than the others. This was the case especially on the 3d of July. The moment it moved by the flank on the ridge and faced to the front, it met a deadly fire. Its severity may be judged from the fact that two color-sergeants fell in quick succession, while the third had only grasped the standard when the staff was struck and broken in the centre by a minie-ball. The colors were quickly picked up, and, with the shattered staff, held aloft until the victory was won.

The casualties of the Seventy-Second were, three officers and forty-three men killed, and seven officers and one hundred and thirty-nine men wounded. In addition to the officers already mentioned, Captains Andrew McBride and James J. Griffiths, and Lieutenant Sutton Jones, were killed. Lieutenant Jones had been promoted from a sergeant only a few weeks before, on account of his honorable record.

Captain Griffiths was serving on the staff of General Howard, and received his death-wound just as Lee began to fall back from the town. Professor Stoeber, of

Gettysburg College, gives the following as an illustration of the religious character of General O. O. Howard. When orders were issued for the army to pursue the enemy, the general hastened to the bedside of his beloved staff-officer, and, after a few remarks, read to him the fourteenth chapter of John, and then, kneeling, committed to God his dying brother-in-arms. With a final farewell, these friends parted, never to meet again on earth.

Captain Andrew McBride was shot in the throat while cheering his men. He fell at the first volley received by the Seventy-Second as they formed on the colors. The wounded officers of the Seventy-Second were Captains R. L. R. Shreeve and John Lockhart, and Lieutenants B. M. Heulings, Frederick Boland, and Robert Stewart.

The One Hundred and Sixth, having been retained by General Howard, was not in the infantry engagement, but did not escape the severe artillery fire. The members of the regiment that formed part of the brigade skirmishers, fought along with the Seventy-Second. The regimental officers in charge, Captains John J. Sperry, Robert H. Ford, and James C. Lynch, behaved very handsomely both on the skirmish line and in the battle. The two former officers were severely wounded.

General Webb won the esteem of his men for his skillful management, and for the extraordinary coolness displayed in the midst of danger. The distance between the position occupied by our brigade commander and the place where Armistead stood was thirty-three paces, and at the time the Confederate leader fell, Webb received a wound, but, concealing it from those about him, continued on duty.

At the close of General Webb's official report, he states, "The brigade captured nearly one thousand prisoners and six battle-flags, and picked up fourteen hundred stand of arms and nine hundred sets of accoutrements. The loss was forty-three officers and four hundred and fifty-two men, and only forty-seven were missing. The conduct of this brigade was most satisfactory."

Among the flags referred to, there was one captured from the color-guard of a Virginia regiment, after a severe struggle, by Captain Alexander McCuen. This flag, along with the others, was sent to the War Department, with the names of the captors affixed.

On the evening of July 3d, rations for three days were issued, and about midnight a heavy storm occurred, completely drenching the men and reducing the contents of their haversacks to a mass of pulp. The next morning, July 4th, found many of the troops without food and no immediate prospect of obtaining any. Matters were rendered still worse from the fact that the condition of the dead about us required immediate attention. Burial parties were organized by the brigade, and several hundred bodies of the Confederate dead were placed in trenches on our front. Many of those engaged on this sad duty were well-nigh exhausted from hunger and fatigue.

On the morning of July 5th, it was found that the Confederate army had left our front and was retreating towards the Potomac. The Sixth Corps, under Sedgwick, was at once started in pursuit towards South Mountain, while the rest of Meade's forces were ordered to move in the same general direction. The Second Corps

marched to Taneytown and Frederick. On the 9th it reached Crampton's Gap, South Mountain, and the next day it moved to a point near Williamsburg, where the enemy were at bay, protecting the passage of their trains over the river.

July 14th, after the corps had spent two days in this vicinity, manœuvring and digging rifle-pits, an order was received from General Meade to charge the position of the enemy at seven A.M. Our advance found the Confederate intrenchments deserted, and, with the exception of a few stragglers picked up by our men and a portion of the rear-guard captured by Kilpatrick, the Army of Northern Virginia had crossed the Potomac, and the invasion of the North had been providentially brought to an end through the valor of the Army of the Potomac.

General Lee, in his official report of Gettysburg, says, "It is not in my power to give a correct statement of our casualties, which were severe." It has been estimated that he lost nearly thirty thousand men; of which thirteen thousand six hundred and twenty were prisoners. According to the War Department, the Union loss was two thousand eight hundred and thirty-four killed, thirteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-three wounded, and six thousand six hundred and forty-three missing; making a total of twenty-three thousand one hundred and ninety.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE RAPPAHANNOCK AND MINE RUN.

THE army crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry July 18th, 1863, and moved in pursuit of Lee, following closely the same route as that pursued after Antietam. In this advance along the mountains the cavalry were very active and had several encounters with the enemy, some of these being of considerable magnitude.

After passing Bloomfield, Upperville, and the vicinity of Ashby's Gap, our brigade reached Manassas Gap on the 23d. Here we were put in position to support Spinola's Brigade, of the Third Corps, which was engaged with the enemy. From this point the column was headed south, passing Rectortown, New Baltimore, and Georgetown, to a point southeast of Warrenton. The movement was continued by the Second Corps marching parallel to the others until July 31st, at which date camp was formed near Morrisville Post-Office, in the vicinity of our last winter-quarters. The total distance marched since leaving Falmouth, on the Gettysburg campaign, was four hundred and thirty-six miles.

The month of August was spent in comparative quiet near Morrisville, the principal duty consisting of a large picket detail, relieved every twenty-four hours.

The brigade was commanded in the latter part of the



month by the senior officer present, Lieutenant-Colonel W. L. Curry, One Hundred and Sixth Regiment. The Sixty-Ninth Regiment was commanded by Captain Thomas Kelly, the Seventy-First by Lieutenant-Colonel Kochersperger, the Seventy-Second by Major Samuel Roberts, and the One Hundred and Sixth by Captain John R. Breidenbach.

At this time there was an unusually large number of officers absent from their commands on account of sickness or wounds, and in some regiments there were companies without any commissioned officer, which rendered necessary the following order to commanders of regiments:

"It is hereby directed that regimental commanders assign a commissioned officer to take charge of their companies where officers are absent. This will be done even should it be necessary to give or assign an officer to the charge of two or more companies."

The details for picket and brigade guards were arranged each day according to the number "present for duty" reported by the regimental adjutants. Among these officers there was a very commendable rivalry, not only in the preparation of reports and in the promptness with which their details were furnished, but especially in the soldierly bearing of the men. Each guard, when formed, was inspected before going on duty, and seldom could troops in garrison excel the appearance and military carriage of these veterans. On one occasion General Webb was so favorably impressed with an inspection he witnessed that he directed the following note to be sent to the commanding officer of the Seventy-First:

"COLONEL,—The general commanding desires to say

that the military appearance of the guard that reports from your regiment this morning deserves special mention. Their soldierly bearing is worthy of the imitation of the men of this command."

The adjutants of these regiments are entitled to honorable mention for faithfulness in the discharge of duty.

The Sixty-Ninth was served by Adjutant William Whildey; the Seventy-First by S. P. Hutchinson; Seventy-Second by Adjutant Charles W. West, who was never absent from his post during the entire active service of the regiment. The adjutant of the One Hundred and Sixth Regiment was Lieutenant John A. Steel, who succeeded to the place made vacant by the death of Lieutenant Pleis.

September 12th, the Second Corps moved to Rappahannock Station, for the purpose of supporting a cavalry movement. A crossing was effected at early dawn by the divisions of Gregg, Buford, and Kilpatrick, under General Pleasonton. Soon after, the cavalry of the enemy were met, and, after heavy skirmishing, were driven back towards the Rapidan. The corps moved forward in aid of Pleasonton, and at four P.M. the column reached a point near Culpeper and halted.

The brigade under General Webb was sent forward to occupy the town, there being no infantry between this place and the Rapidan. During the three days our command performed provost and guard duty at Culpeper, we had some striking exhibitions of the bitter feeling of the ladies of the South to Northern soldiers.

At one residence near headquarters the lady occupants, whose male relations were no doubt in the Southern army, notified an officer who volunteered a safeguard, "that they

wanted no favors from Yankees." Another woman, though equally severe in her hatred, was compelled involuntarily to pay our troops a fine compliment. This matron had the reputation of being a letter-carrier for the Confederacy, and had failed to pass our lines, giving up the effort in disgust, and at the same time confessing that she had always succeeded before. Her plans were simple and easily detected. Among other arrangements for her purpose, she adopted the disguise of a farmer's wife. Dressed in the plainest costume, without shawl or bonnet, and driving before her a cow that had apparently strayed from its pasture, she would carelessly saunter past the Union pickets on her way to the lines of the enemy.

September 17th we left Culpeper and marched to Somerville Ford on the Rapidan, where the brigade relieved Kilpatrick's division of cavalry, which had been guarding the river. A short time before our arrival at the ford some of these cavalymen had been furnished with new carbines, and, anxious to try their range, had used the enemy's pickets as targets, greatly irritating their videttes. As our men went forward to relieve posts near the river, the Confederates called out, "Lay down, Yanks; we are going to fire on the cavalry as they are relieved." They kept their word, and as Kilpatrick's men were withdrawn they had to run the gauntlet.

The brigade remained on this duty until the end of September, and the work became quite monotonous, not being relieved by excitement except in one instance, and that of an unusual character.

The signal-officers of the Army of the Potomac had possession of the code used by the Confederates, and by

this means often read the messages of the enemy when their signal-flags could be seen. One of these intercepted dispatches, from General Lee to General Early, read, "Send over two men" (naming them), "and see what the Yankees are doing." With the announcement of the premeditated visit of these spies, orders were given for extra care on the part of those on post. In spite of all precautions the visitors came, and, having successfully accomplished their purpose, safely returned with their information. To signalize this audacity, they captured two teamsters, who were afterwards released at the ford by which the scouts returned to the Confederate side of the river.

Our troops could only account for this escape on the same principle that so many errors and false movements were made occasionally by detachments of the army: want of accurate information of the by-roads and passes of the country.

October 6th the command was relieved from picket duty, and it returned to Culpeper, where it remained until the 10th. While the army of Meade was occupying the line of the Rapidan a considerable number of substitutes and drafted men were received, and were distributed among the regiments. The arrivals did not materially increase our strength, as large numbers of them deserted at the first opportunity, while many who were disposed to remain were physically unfit for service, and should never have been passed by the surgeons.

On the date of our arrival at Culpeper the right of the army was near James City, which was held by Kilpatrick's cavalry supported by a part of the Third Corps. These troops were unexpectedly attacked by Stuart's

cavalry on the 10th and driven into Culpeper. This assault indicated the advance of Lee in another offensive movement, and at once gave evidence to Meade that his right was already turned. During the night our trains were sent over the Rappahannock, and at midnight the army began a retrograde movement. By daylight of the 11th the whole force was north of the river, and the bridge at the station was blown up. The same day the Confederate army occupied Culpeper, while their advance was pressing the rear of our column.

General Meade, still uncertain as to the plan of Lee, but aware of his position at Culpeper, determined to recross the Rappahannock with his entire army except the Third Corps, and offer battle. Accordingly the movement was executed on the 12th, and after passing to the south of the river with the Second, Fifth, and Sixth Corps, with Buford's cavalry, deployments were made ready for action. In the mean time Lee had resumed his northward march, and was again endeavoring to turn the right flank of the Union army. During the transfer of the main body the Third Corps had been left on the north side to guard the fords, while the cavalry of Gregg picketed the upper crossings. On the afternoon of the 12th Gregg was driven back on his supports by the van of the Confederates, and the information thus received, disclosing the advance, was transmitted at once to General Meade.

The relative manœuvring of the two armies had brought about an unusual situation. While Lee with his force was north of the Rappahannock, heading towards Washington, the main force of the Union army was south of the river, facing in the direction of Rich-

mond. To extricate himself from this false position, Meade acted promptly, and directed another retrograde movement. This order found the corps near Brandy Station, in bivouac, awaiting battle, as they supposed, from the Confederates at daylight. At two A.M. on the 13th the movement began, and the two armies entered on one of the usual races towards Bull Run and Centreville. At daylight the Second Corps reached Fayetteville, and rested until two P.M., then marched to Warrenton Junction and halted for the night.

At this point a singular affair occurred, giving an amusing illustration of the audacity of Stuart, the Confederate cavalryman. His division of cavalry, in pressing one of our corps, had penetrated between it and another column running parallel, and at night was fairly encompassed with our infantry. Carefully concealing his force within dense woods, he sent men dressed as Union soldiers through our lines to notify Lee of his position. At daylight, while an attack by way of diversion was made on Caldwell's Division of the Second Corps, Stuart opened with his artillery, and succeeded, during the confusion, in cutting his way through the rear-guard.

Early on the 14th the Philadelphia Brigade, under Colonel D. W. C. Baxter, was detailed to convoy the ammunition train of the corps, and started on this duty, keeping on the right of the column. While on this march the rest of the corps, under General Warren, had a spirited engagement at Bristoe Station, Orange and Alexandria Railroad. This fight was with Hill's Corps, which was pressing the rear of the Fifth, unconscious that the Second Corps was on its flank. The brunt of the

battle was borne by the First and Third Brigades, Second Division, under General Webb, and the Third Brigade, Third Division, under General Owen. It resulted in a victory for our corps, which captured four hundred and fifty prisoners, five guns, and three battle-flags. Our forces lost in this action about two hundred in killed and wounded.

Among the casualties in the battle of Bristoe were three officers of the brigade who were on detached service. Lieutenant Michael Coste, Company C, Seventy-Second, was killed; he was a young officer of great courage, and of such a frank and generous nature that he won the attachment of his comrades. Coste was serving with General Owen, when he was struck with a minie-ball while receiving an order from his commander. Captain Francis Wessels, One Hundred and Sixth, aid to General Webb, and Captain James C. Lynch, of the same regiment, aid on the Third Division staff, were wounded.

The morning of the 15th found Meade in possession of Bull Run and Centreville, and the winner of the last race towards Washington. After a few movements by way of feints, General Lee commenced slowly falling back; taking time to destroy the railroad thoroughly as he went.

On the 19th Meade leisurely started in pursuit. The Second Corps reached a point within three miles of Warrenton on the 22d, and halted there; the command remained until November 7th, awaiting repairs that were being made to the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. This work, so necessary in the forwarding of supplies for a permanent advance, having been completed, the

entire army continued its march towards the Rappahannock in two columns; the left composed of the First, Second, and Third Corps, and the right of the Fifth and Sixth. The advance of the left column crossed at Kelly's Ford by wading, and carried the enemy's rifle-pits with but little loss, taking five hundred prisoners. The right encountered considerable opposition at their place of crossing, Rappahannock Station, but a storming party of Russell's and Upton's Brigades carried the works by a handsome charge, capturing fifteen hundred prisoners, four guns, and eight battle-flags.

Soon after these columns had crossed, General Lee abandoned his line at Culpeper, and withdrew across the Rapidan, leaving the Army of the Potomac to occupy the same positions near Culpeper which it held before the late movements began.

From the 8th of November until the 26th the Second Corps was encamped near Brandy Station. Towards the latter date orders were issued for ten days' rations to be carried in haversacks, and every preparation seemed to indicate another movement by General Meade.

The final order was received on the night of the 25th, and at daylight of the 26th the different corps were in motion towards the Rapidan. The Second Corps crossed without opposition, at Germania Ford, and, advancing four miles beyond the river, halted for the night.

On this expedition the senior colonels of the brigade, as was frequently the case, were in command of other brigades, and during the absence of General Webb, commanding the Second Division, the Philadelphia Brigade was placed under Colonel A. F. Devereux, Nineteenth Massachusetts. The passages marked as



quotations in the account of this movement are from Colonel Devereux's official report.

"At eight A.M., 27th, the corps moved in the direction of Robertson's Tavern, encountering the enemy's advanced posts just this side. This brigade, leading the division, was ordered to occupy a ridge on the right of the road, sending out a regiment as skirmishers to meet the enemy beyond. The Seventy-Second Pennsylvania Volunteers was deployed, and with Lieutenant-Colonel Hesser at its head started gallantly over the crest, and at once became engaged. The remainder of the brigade, consisting of the Seventy-First, One Hundred and Sixth, and Sixty-Ninth, advanced in line of battle to the crest, and there lay down. The Seventy-Second were pressing the enemy warmly in front, and continued to press them until the death of their leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Hesser, when for an instant some confusion occurred and they gave ground; but they were very soon re-formed, and they regained their position and held it during the day. Lieutenant-Colonel Hesser was shot urging his men on to the charge, being himself in advance of his line and displaying great gallantry. He was shot through the head, and must have died instantly. Very nearly at this time the general commanding the division sent orders to move a regiment to the right of the picket-line, to a cluster of houses that formed an important position at that point. The One Hundred and Sixth was dispatched under Lieutenant-Colonel Curry, and gained the point immediately. Demand was then made for another regiment to strengthen our advanced line on the left. The Seventy-First was sent to this point under Lieutenant-Colonel Kochersperger, Colonel Smith of this

regiment being in command of the entire picket-line of the division."

At the same time with the movement of the Seventy-First, the Sixty-Ninth, under Major Duffy, was ordered as a support for our line on the right. This regiment had scarcely taken position before it received a heavy fire, and three regiments from the First Brigade were sent to assist it in repulsing the enemy. After this affair there was only desultory firing during the remainder of the afternoon, and at night-fall the troops held their position.

The official report of Colonel Devereux is so unusually full of details that it will be read with great interest. This well-known and respected officer of a New England regiment, temporarily in command of our brigade, is free from the charge of partiality to Pennsylvania troops.

"At daybreak on the 28th, the division was formed in line of battle to sweep the woods in our front. The line advanced for some two miles through dense woods and over fences, gaining ground to the left as it proceeded, and under all the circumstances the line was wonderfully kept. The enemy's skirmishers were encountered finally, covering a strong position on Mine Run. The line was halted on the edge of the woods towards the enemy at about three-quarters of a mile from their works. The brigade was here taken out of the division line and placed in reserve. Everything remained quiet during that day and night. At daylight on the 29th of November, the division marched, forming the rear of the corps column, and after a detour reached the enemy's right flank about two hours before dark, and was placed in reserve."

“At two o’clock the next morning the Second Division was moved to the front, near the picket-lines, and formed in two lines, prepared for an assault on the enemy’s works at that point. The first line consisted of the Philadelphia Brigade and two regiments of the First Brigade under my command.”

“The morning was bitterly cold and most disagreeable. No fires could be allowed, and patient endurance had to supply all wants. Notwithstanding the known fact that the column was there to lead an assault that was in its nature a forlorn hope, where death was almost certain, I never saw more resolution or good spirits manifested. Officers and men were able to look with cheerfulness on the prospect and calmly await orders to move.”

The scene presented by the men as they prepared to assault was one of the most heroic of the war. Many had written their names on pieces of paper and fastened them to their garments; others had torn strips of underclothing to be used for bandages, and some, with a semi-ludicrous thoughtfulness, had filled their pockets with “hard-tack,” so that for a time at least they would not suffer with hunger if wounded or captured. While the dangerous character of the work was fully realized, yet every one seemed ready to move forward at the word of command.

“If men could have carried that position, I believe this division would have done it. They felt that they had been assigned for desperate service, and would never disgrace themselves or their commander.”

“After daybreak the enemy’s position disclosed sixteen guns. Ten of these were in an embrasured work, with ditch and abattis in front, and rifle-pits in front of

all, with curtains for infantry on the right, giving a flank fire on any attacking force.”

The instructions to General Warren, commanding Second Corps, from General Meade were to assault the right of the enemy at an early hour in the morning, the signal to be heavy cannonading by Sedgwick on our right. As soon as an observation of the enemy's works could be made, Warren determined to take the responsibility of suspending the attack. Word was dispatched to Meade, who rode rapidly over the four miles separating him from our position, and, after surveying the ground, he countermanded the assault.

“All that day the command remained in position, and at night-fall it was withdrawn some three hundred yards to the rear in line of battle. That night and the next day remained undisturbed, not a shot breaking the complete stillness on either side. At eight P.M., December 1st, orders were received to move in retreat. The entire corps fell back that night, recrossing the river at Culpeper ford,—the Second Division bringing up the rear.”

The night of the 2d found the whole command in its old camps near Stevensburg. Colonel Devereux says, in concluding his report,—

“I desire to mention Lieutenant-Colonel Hesser for distinguished personal bravery. No man could have behaved better as he led his lines.” This was the universal testimony of the officers and men of the brigade.

Devereux further adds, “On leaving the line in front of the enemy, the necessity for secrecy required that two men from each regiment should remain to keep up the

camp-fires until three o'clock the next morning,—this concealed the appearance of a retreat. I take pleasure in mentioning the names of those who in each regiment volunteered for this duty, most unpleasant to contemplate, since it left them, as it were, deserted by their comrades, with the prospect of a Richmond prison or starvation to cheer them through a long night of lonely watching :

“Sergeant Edward Teague, Company F, Seventy-First Pennsylvania Volunteers.

“Corporal Isaiah B. Tapp, Company F, Seventy-First Pennsylvania Volunteers.

“Corporal Frederick Murphy, Company H, Sixty-Ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers.

“Private Francis McKee, Company D, Sixty-Ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers.

“Corporal William H. Hill, Company E, Seventy-Second Pennsylvania Volunteers.

“Corporal Nathaniel Rhoads, Company I, Seventy-Second Pennsylvania Volunteers.

“Corporal William H. Myers, Company A, One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers.

“Private Peter Scheik, Company D, One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers.

“Respectfully submitted,

“(Signed) A. F. DEVEREUX,

“Colonel Commanding Second Brigade.”

The “Richmond Despatch,” about this date, contained a letter dated November 28th, from a correspondent in Lee’s army, which singularly corroborates the statement of our brigade commander concerning the fight at Robertson’s Tavern. The writer says, “The forces of Lee

lost fully five hundred in killed and wounded. Of the loss of the enemy I am not advised ; but I am now disposed to doubt if it was as heavy as ours. They fought, I am told, quite well, and fired more accurately than usual."

The loss of the brigade in this movement was remarkably small. There were ten killed or missing in action, and twenty-five wounded.

Active operations of an extensive character were now over for the season, and the two great armies, while resting in winter-quarters on either side of the Rapidan, were engaged in preparations for the deadly struggle that was sure to come with the opening of spring.

This inactivity was broken once during the winter by a small diversion in favor of one of Butler's operations on the Peninsula. On February 7th, the division crossed the Rapidan at Morton's Ford, threatening an advance. The brigade had the lead, and while the skirmishers were wading the river, Lieutenant Seabury, Seventy-First, aid to General Owen, rode through it and captured three of the enemy's pickets. The brigade lost no men in this movement, not being engaged in action.

The five months spent in winter-quarters near Stevensburg were marked by more than usual social privileges to officers and men. Profiting by field experience, large numbers of the men made the best use of the materials at their disposal, and rendered their quarters quite comfortable, while many of the officers, having obtained logs and boards from a saw-mill near the camp, erected cabins, not only convenient for use, but in some cases quite ornamental in appearance. A large number of

ladies who had relations in the service, or acquaintances, availed themselves of permission to visit the army.

After quarters for troops had been provided, the saw-mill was kept in operation to furnish boards for a large frame structure near Second Corps headquarters. This building, when completed, was used for a ball, given by the officers of the Second Corps to the ladies who were in camp. The regimental and headquarter flags decorated the interior of the building, while the "stage scene" was ornamented with a battery of highly-polished Napoleon guns, camp-scenes, shelter-tents, and stacked arms. A large number of guests were present from Washington, including cabinet officers and members of foreign legations. The ball-room, when the festivities were at their height, was certainly very brilliant. The trials and sufferings of the past were temporarily forgotten, and it is not likely that any of those who were present cared to anticipate the transformations of the future.

During the remainder of the time in winter-quarters, the ball-room was used by the private soldiers for minstrel performances and concerts. Some of the amateurs engaged in these amusements were very entertaining, and thoroughly understood the business.

During this period, the men were furnished inadvertently with another intellectual amusement, by an order received through General Hancock. This was to the effect that the Government desired to secure the services of soldiers who were experienced seamen, for the Western gunboat flotilla. The desire for change of scene, and especially an inclination to get rid of long marches,

led many of the men to apply for examination preparatory to transfer.

To properly test the qualifications of the candidates as seamen, a board of officers was appointed, and furnished with a model of a full-rigged man-of-war. The aspirant for naval honors was expected to describe the model, and also explain the points of the compass. In a brief period there were large numbers who applied for permission to be examined, and throughout the camp men were using nautical terms and essaying to box the compass.

This pastime was brought to an end by an explanatory order from Hancock, setting forth the fact that "service on canal-boats or Western propellers did not qualify men for seamanship." Soon after this the board was dissolved, and the few "old salts" discovered by its inquiries were duly transferred to the naval service.

March, 1864, General Alexander S. Webb was transferred from the Philadelphia Brigade, and assigned to the command of the First Brigade in the Second Division. General Joshua T. Owen was at the same time transferred from the Third Brigade, Third Division, to this brigade, and at once resumed his old command. The One Hundred and Fifty-Second New York Volunteers was added to the brigade on March 26th, and formed a part of the command during the remainder of its service. This regiment had an aggregate, present and absent, of five hundred and eighteen men, and a total present for duty of fifteen officers and three hundred and seventy men.

The Sixty-Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment having largely re-enlisted, a furlough for thirty days was



granted the veterans on the 14th of March, and they returned to Philadelphia. While in that city the green flag that had been carried with the national colors in all the campaigns of the regiment was deposited in Independence Hall, and a new one was presented by its friends. Major Duffy having resigned on account of wounds, Captain William Davis was promoted to the vacant position and assumed command of the regiment.

On the 4th of April, Colonel T. J. Morehead, One Hundred and Sixth, who had served faithfully in the various positions assigned him, tendered his resignation, and was honorably discharged. Major Stover, of the same regiment, having been promoted colonel of the One Hundred and Eighty-Fourth P. V., Captain John J. Sperry, Company A, was commissioned major.

Each of the regiments had a small increase of numbers by the addition of substitutes and conscripts, and every effort was made by General Owen to promote efficiency, by constant drills and inspections. On April 30th, 1864, the brigade report was as follows:

	Total Present and Absent.	Present.	
		Officers.	Men.
69th P. V.	342	20	304
71st P. V.	589	13	303
72d P. V.	631	12	284
106th P. V.	429	9	229
152d N. Y.	518	15	370
	2509	69	1490

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE WILDERNESS.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN, on March 10th, 1864, assigned Lieutenant-General Grant to the command of all the armies of the United States. The promulgation of this order gave the assurance, for the first time in the history of the Rebellion, that unity of purpose and simultaneous movements on the part of all our forces might be expected in the campaign shortly to open.

The theory of action to which General Grant was committed by his recent campaign in the West was best described in his own terms as a "continuous hammering." Having in view the destruction of Lee's army, the lieutenant-general lost no time in preparing plans for the operations about to be commenced.

Towards the end of March the headquarters of the lieutenant-general were established with the Army of the Potomac, "until further orders." Considerable reinforcements were brought forward and distributed among the different corps, while the entire command of Burnside was added to the Army of the Potomac, and formed an independent corps, separate from the control of General Meade.

The additions that were made to the effective strength of the army consisted principally of entire organizations.

New regiments that had been recently formed, and others which had been guarding depots of supply, or performing garrison duty in the forts about Washington, were ordered to the front, and distributed to the different corps. Among the latter arrivals were the heavy artilleryists of General Tyler's command. These troops had been drilled as infantry regiments, and they presented a fine appearance, and proved of great service in the campaign. When they joined the Army of the Potomac their full ranks contained as many men as some of the depleted brigades of the veterans.

The practice of increasing the force of the army by adding entire organizations of new troops, frequently led by officers who had seen but little if any active service, was adopted as the policy of several of the States, and notably by Pennsylvania. Massachusetts and a few of the Western States pursued the wiser plan of strengthening regiments already in the field. The new organization system was probably adopted as the easier method to raise men through the personal efforts of officers, that commissions might be secured. Experience showed that this practice was an unwise one, and that the object aimed at might have been more effectually accomplished by offering special bounties for recruits to old regiments. The additional amount of money required by the adoption of this plan would have been well expended, and the benefit to the service far greater.

The beneficial effects of the plan adopted by the State of Massachusetts were fully demonstrated in our division. One of their regiments received two hundred and fifty Germans who had been sent forward as a portion of the State quota. These men were mercenaries,

and lacked the incentives to fight which are supposed to animate the volunteer; but in spite of this disadvantage and the inconvenience resulting from inability to speak our language, they made rapid progress towards efficiency. The credit of fitting these foreigners for their duties belonged almost as much to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiment as to the company commanders. From the time they reported for duty, the influence and example of their associates gave them lessons of experience and supplemented the instructions of officers. If these recruits had been American citizens, the task of instructing them would, of course, have been far easier. The benefit attending this experiment was more fully seen in other regiments, and resulted in the mutual advantage of the recruits and the organizations to which they were assigned.

The latter part of April found the army composed of over one hundred and fifty thousand men, ready for an immediate movement. The corps had been reorganized, consolidated, and fully equipped.

The three corps into which the army had been consolidated were the Second, under Major-General W. S. Hancock, the Fifth, under Major-General G. K. Warren, and the Sixth, under Major-General John Sedgwick. The command of the army remained under Major-General George G. Meade, through whom the lieutenant-general issued the orders for the principal operations.

These generals were well known and respected by their commands, and, although possessing qualifications or characteristics differing widely from each other, they were eminently fitted for their positions. The old

Second Corps had been commanded in turn by all these corps commanders, and had won distinction under each of them. The youngest of these officers, General Warren, was of acknowledged ability as an engineer officer; and his knowledge of the country obtained in this branch of the service, as well as his skill and personal gallantry, made him an efficient leader in the victory at Bristoe Station.

General Sedgwick, the former commander of the division, familiarly spoken of by the soldiers as "Uncle John," was always a favorite with his command. He was affable and pleasant in manner, yet strict in obedience to his orders and exacting in his demands for similar compliance by those under him. The Second Corps, in remaining under the command of General Hancock, had their confidence strengthened by the experience of more than a year that they would be ably led and have every opportunity to maintain their high renown as one of the fighting corps of the Army of the Potomac. There are some officers whose appearance on the battle-field, or at the head of a column, imparts hope and secures the admiration of those serving under them. Hancock not only possessed this influence, but had the prestige that came from past success and that inspired anticipations of brilliant achievements in the future. During the period the corps had been under his immediate command, it had never met a surprise from the enemy or lost a gun in action. For a considerable share of his success General Hancock was indebted to careful attention to details and his habit of demanding prompt obedience to minor orders, as well as those of a more important character. Until these traits were understood and known

to be the principles of his military action, the general bore the character among volunteer officers of a martinet.

Many of the officers of the Second Corps had the opportunity to profit by the example of their leader, and no doubt can furnish illustrations of his influence in moulding their habits. On the evening of the second day at Gettysburg, after the fight in front of the brigade was over and the enemy were repulsed, a brigade officer re-established the picket-line in its old position near the Emmettsburg road. The duty was completed at dark, and as soon as he had assured himself of the proper connections on each flank of the line he rode back to the brigade. Here he was met by Hancock, who asked him to indicate the line, adding the question, "What troops did you connect with?" On receiving the reply, "I am sure the connection is perfect, but did not ascertain to what regiments they belong," the officer was directed to personally make this inquiry. While on the march towards the Rapidan, the Second Brigade commander was ordered to place guards well out on the flank of the column, at the roads leading from the main route. While an officer was giving instructions to a sergeant in charge of one of these details, General Hancock happened to be passing; reining in his horse, he said, "What orders are you giving your guard?" "I am instructing the sergeant to direct General Birney, who commands the corps that is following ours, to relieve this guard with one from his command." "What do you say, sir?" was the reply; "a sergeant direct a major-general?"

This strict attention to the spirit and the letter of

duties and instructions, had it obtained more extensive practice among those in command, would have frequently brought success and prevented disaster.

The Second Division remained under Brigadier-General John Gibbon, and the brigades were commanded as follows: First Brigade, Brigadier-General A. S. Webb; Second Brigade, Brigadier-General Joshua T. Owen; Third Brigade, Colonel S. S. Carroll.

The plans of Generals Grant and Meade were formed, and the force awaited the command to move forward on its campaign of "continuous hammering." This was not long delayed, and on the 3d of May an order was issued that the army would move that night toward its objective, the Confederate army under Lee.

The order for the Second Division was received in the evening, and is inserted as a reminiscence of the initiative in the most terrific and bloody campaign of the war:

"HEADQUARTERS, SECOND DIVISION.

"May 3d, 1864.

"CIRCULAR.

"The division will be ready to march to-night at eleven and a half o'clock, in the following order: First, Second, and Third Brigades right in front. Right of column next to corps headquarters. Spring wagons belonging to headquarters in the order of commanders, to be followed by ambulances, ammunition, and baggage wagons. The Stony Mountain detachments to break up camp after dark and join the column, getting to the east of the Stevensburg road as soon as possible, the train in front. At every halt troops will be massed.

“Brigade commanders will report at these headquarters at ten o'clock.

“The division pioneers in front of division.

“By command of Brigadier-General GIBBON.

“JOHN M. NORVELL, A. A. G.”

The “spring wagons” referred to in this order were ambulances with dark covers, prepared for the use of division and brigade headquarters in transporting official papers, and also the mess supplies. After the opening of the campaign the number of wounded was so large that it became necessary to use these wagons for the ambulance corps, and pack animals were substituted in their stead.

At midnight, May 3d, the army moved in two columns towards the Rapidan. The right column, composed of the corps of Warren and Sedgwick, reached Germania Ford at daylight on the 4th. After a bridge was laid, Warren commenced crossing, and was followed by Sedgwick's Corps in the afternoon. The operation was completed by evening, both corps resting at night on the south of the Rapidan.

The Second Corps, under Hancock, moved towards Ely's Ford, preceded by a division of cavalry under General Gregg. Upon our arrival at the river we found that the cavalry had already crossed, and that a ponton bridge was nearly laid. Soon after the bridge was completed, Hancock advanced and continued the march to a point beyond the plank road, near the Chancellorsville House. This place was reached at three o'clock on the afternoon of May 4th, where a halt was made to await the advance of the column on the right. This night we



bivouacked on the old battle-ground of Hooker, but drew no special inspiration from its historical associations.

The gloomy region of country called the Wilderness, into which over one hundred thousand Union soldiers had entered, is a labyrinth of forests, in many places filled with tangled underbrush, penetrated by few roads, and these for the most part narrow and easily obstructed. The advantage possessed by an advancing force of concealing its movements was more than neutralized by the ease with which the enemy, familiar with the ground, could form ambuscades or direct sudden attacks on columns while marching.

It was evident that General Grant did not desire nor anticipate a battle in this wilderness region, and ordered the movements for Thursday, May 5th, which, if uninterrupted in their execution, would have brought the army quite beyond its bounds by night-fall.

At five A.M., May 5th, the Second Corps continued its march towards Shady Grove church, taking the road by the Furnaces and Todd's Tavern. At nine o'clock the advance of our corps was two miles beyond Todd's Tavern, when a dispatch was received from General Meade directing Hancock "to halt the column, as the enemy had been discovered in some force on the Wilderness pike."

When the Second Corps moved forward, the right column, which had bivouacked near the Wilderness Tavern, also resumed its march. The Fifth Corps, under Warren, had the advance, and its point of direction was Parker's Store, on the Orange and Fredericksburg plank road. As Warren passed the turnpike on his way to-

wards the plank road, he threw out the division of Griffin as a protection to the flank of Sedgwick's Corps, which was following the Fifth.

While the Union forces were thus pushing towards the south of the Wilderness, the army of General Lee was marched by its commander towards our column, with the determination of compelling a fight in this, to us, unknown country.

Griffin had hardly gone into position when his skirmishers met those of the enemy belonging to Ewell's Corps, who were approaching by the turnpike. At the same time, Crawford's Division of the Fifth Corps moving towards Parker's Store on the plank road encountered Hill's Corps moving to the attack. These developments unmasked the plans of Lee, and at once indicated to Generals Meade and Grant that the Confederates, instead of deciding to act on the defensive, as had been expected, had really adopted the offensive, and were boldly putting their plans into execution.

The two roads by which the enemy was approaching the positions of the Fifth and Sixth Corps were nearly parallel to each other, and extended in a general east and west direction. The turnpike crosses the road to Germania Ford, near the old Wilderness Tavern, and the plank road crosses the Brock road, which is a connection of the Germania road two miles south of the tavern.

The heaviest opposition having been encountered by the division of Griffin on the upper or turnpike road, an attack was ordered at that point by General Grant, who had arrived in the vicinity. Wadsworth's Division was joined with Griffin, and also a brigade from Crawford, that had been recalled from its movement on the

plank road. The operations on this road were suspended shortly after these dispositions, and the remainder of Crawford's command was withdrawn, sharply followed by the enemy, who fired on the rear-guard.

At noon the division of Griffin moved out on the turnpike to attack the enemy. The brigade of Ayres advanced on the right and Bartlett's on the left of the Orange turnpike, and pressed forward with great spirit, driving the enemy for a considerable distance in confusion. The Confederates soon recovered from their panic, and having been strongly reinforced were quickly in position, not only to withstand the attack of this small portion of Warren's Corps, but to take the offensive. The fighting now became desperate and bloody, and for a time the advantages appeared to be on the side of the Confederates; the Fifth Corps, having lost three thousand men, was forced back to a new line in the rear of the position first held, but somewhat in front of the Germania Ford road.

Before the repulse of the Fifth Corps, General Meade, perceiving the disadvantage of a withdrawal from the lower or plank road by which Hill's Corps was advancing and from which Crawford had been recalled, speedily re-occupied the position with Getty's Division of the Sixth Corps. This general had orders to hold at all hazards the ground covering the junction of the Brock and plank roads until the arrival of Hancock.

At the time the Second Corps had received orders to halt, the leading division, as already stated, was beyond Todd's Tavern, a distance of ten miles from the position held by General Getty. At eleven o'clock Hancock was ordered to countermarch at once, and move rapidly up

the Brock road to its intersection with the Orange plank road. Our corps had scarcely started on its return before the enemy began to bear heavily on the skirmishers of Getty, and every moment the pressure increased, rendering it more difficult to hold the ground. In the mean time Hancock, aware of the importance of securing the position defended by Getty's Division, was urging his troops forward as rapidly as possible. This spirit of the leader was infused into the men, and the latter part of the distance was made by the Second Division on the double-quick. At three o'clock Getty still held his position, when the cheers of the Second Corps announced their arrival. Hancock formed two lines of battle, one on the Brock road and the other a short distance in front. The troops on the road commenced strengthening their position with logs, dead trees, and other *débris* of that character, of which there was an endless supply. In this forsaken place nature did her own pruning, and the trees felled by old time, or branches struck down by the rude tempest, were scattered through the forest in every direction.

At this period of the day the relative positions of the opposing forces presented an anomaly in the experience of the war. Before Hancock, drawn up in line across the Orange plank road, was Hill's Corps, prepared to dispute any advance towards Parker's Store. Confronting the Fifth and Sixth Corps on the turnpike was the opposing force of Ewell. Between the flanks of the contending troops there was no connection, the intervening space of dense forest preventing any attempt at manœuvring or movements in line. The operations of the afternoon were, for this reason, of the character of

separate actions without any important bearing on each other.

Our division formed on the Brock road, its right flank resting near the plank road. The men had scarcely arranged a line of temporary breastworks, when the order to push the attack on Hill's Corps was given to General Getty. At a quarter-past four this division moved forward on the right and left of the Orange plank road, having received orders direct from General Meade. Finding that General Getty had met with a heavy opposing force, Hancock ordered the divisions of Birney and Mott of the Second Corps to reinforce the attack. This at once led to desperate fighting at close range, the volleys of musketry being continuous and deadly. At a little after half-past four the Philadelphia Brigade, along with the command of Carroll and the Irish Brigade, was sent forward to support the line, and soon became hotly engaged.

In a short time the larger part of the Second Corps was involved in this furious struggle. Repeated and desperate assaults were made by our forces, which were met by the sharp firing of the enemy from his concealed positions in the forest. At one time Mott's Division became disordered, and Brigadier-General Alexander Hays, while restoring the line with his command, fell mortally wounded in the thickest of the fight.

The Second Corps continued its fruitless attempts to dislodge the enemy until darkness closed upon the scene. The troops lay on their arms upon the battle-ground, both sides exhausted by the severity of the struggle. That night in the Wilderness will never fade from the memory of the survivors. When the noise of battle had

entirely ceased, the contending forces, only separated by a few paces, were awaiting, like tigers in their lairs, the coming of day to spring upon each other; while all about the line were the dead and dying of both armies. This region of the shadow of death had been literally "drenched with fraternal blood."

At daylight General Hancock opened the battle by an advance of the divisions under Birney and Mott with the command of Getty, supported by the brigades of Owen and Carroll of Gibbon's Division. The remaining brigade of the Second Division, under Webb, was at this time placed in position, looking to the protection of the left flank from an expected attack by Longstreet's Corps, known to be on its way to reinforce Lee.

The advance of Hancock's men was so impetuous that the enemy soon began to give ground. This movement of the Second Corps was aided by an attack upon the Confederate left, made by Wadsworth's Division of the Fifth Corps. This division, by command of General Warren, had taken up a position the evening before near the battle-ground on the turnpike that threatened the flank of Hill's Corps. When the attack was begun by Hancock a similar movement was made by Wadsworth, and, although separated by a considerable piece of woods from the operations of the Second Corps at this hour, the diversion no doubt prevented the enemy from concentrating his forces on either flank of his position.

In one hour after the attack by our forces had commenced the enemy were driven, in much confusion and with heavy loss, from the immediate front of the Second Corps. The brigade in this advance emerged from the woods at a small clearing, through which was flowing a

little stream of water, and just beyond this was an elevation covered with trees. On reaching this creek a halt was made by the line of battle for the purpose of reforming and closing up the disordered ranks. Up to this hour the loss, especially among the officers, had been very severe; and partially on that account, but more especially from the nature of the ground and the obstruction of the forest, the line was without formation.

This cessation in our advance was unfortunate in its results, as it gave time to the enemy to receive reinforcements and to strengthen his lines. When the advance was again ordered, a severe fire was encountered from the Confederates, who had occupied with a heavy force the elevation in our front. For a moment our men were confused by this sudden resistance from fresh troops, and showed signs of giving ground, but they were soon rallied.

In the effort to re-unite the brigade with the rest of the line, General Owen acted with great vigor. In this emergency the brigade commander received important assistance from regimental, field, and staff officers, and especially from his adjutant-general, Captain Robert S. Seabury. This young officer, who was a soldier of extraordinary gallantry, fell mortally wounded while engaged on this duty. At the same moment, and while similarly occupied, fell two of the regimental commanders, Lieutenant-Colonel Kochersperger, Seventy-First Regiment, severely wounded, and Colonel Baxter, shot through the lungs.

Dispositions were now made to meet the severe attack of the Confederates, and General Hancock's forces were strengthened by Stevenson's Division, of the Sixth Corps,

while Webb's First Brigade, of the Second Division, was moved from its position on the Brock road, and quickly advanced on either side of the plank road. By eight o'clock the fighting had become continuous along the entire front of the Second Corps, and was raging at some points with great fury. Although both armies were suffering heavy losses, neither was able to gain any decided advantage. Towards nine o'clock there was an almost entire cessation, followed soon after by furious assaults that expended their force before anything definite was accomplished, and these were followed in turn by desultory firing.

This character of the contest lasted until near the hour of noon, and was certainly the most unsatisfactory and objectless fighting of any campaign through which we had passed. At no one time during the morning, after the first charge, could there be seen a body of the enemy numbering fifty men, and yet heavy volleys of musketry sent the balls flying into and about our ranks. The line of fire in response to these attacks was indicated only by the direction from which the shots were received. Sometimes but a few balls would reach us from the front, then a sudden discharge would be poured into the flank, and a change of front had to be made, only to be repeated in some other direction.

A few moments before twelve o'clock, General Wadsworth, whose division had pushed its way during the morning until it connected with the First Brigade, which formed the right of the Second Corps, rode through the woods to the plank road, and began to ascertain the location of the corps with a view to concerted action.

While General Wadsworth was on the edge of the



road, near the line of battle, and engaged in making these observations, and before his command was really assured of its position, there occurred one of the strangest scenes of army experience. Without any apparent cause that could be seen from the position of the brigade, the troops on our left began to give way, and commenced falling back towards the Brock road. Those pressing past the left flank of the Second Division did not seem to be demoralized in manner, nor did they present the appearance of soldiers moving under orders, but rather of a throng of armed men who were returning dissatisfied from a muster. Occasionally some fellow, terror-stricken, would rush past as if his life depended on speed, but by far the larger number acted with the utmost deliberation in their movements.

In vain were efforts put forth to stop this retrograde movement; the men were alike indifferent to commands or entreaties. One of the most frightened of the few who were really demoralized was seized by an officer, but begged that he might not be stopped, saying, "I am surely wounded." Hoping to recall his pride, the officer struck the man across the back with the flat of his sword. The frightened fellow, thinking the shock was caused by one of the bullets that were flying about, sprang forward with terror, crying out, "Now I know I am wounded!" The effect was so ludicrous that he was permitted to continue his retreat.

A portion of the Second Division now changed front, with its line parallel to the plank road, to meet this new attack; but the men soon caught the infection and joined in the retreat, and they were compelled by their temporary delay to move a little faster in order

to overtake the rest of the corps and make up for lost time.

The division of Wadsworth, being on the right of the plank road, was the last to feel this influence; but, in spite of the most gallant efforts of its commander, it soon joined with the other troops in moving to the rear, leaving the brave Wadsworth mortally wounded. This officer, who died in the hands of the enemy, was a gentleman of large means and enthusiastic patriotism, and, although somewhat advanced in years, he left his luxurious home for the battle-field. His appearance and characteristics strongly suggested the memory of Colonel E. D. Baker.

The pressure that had started this withdrawal of Hancock's Corps was soon ascertained to be due to the arrival of Longstreet's men, who had commenced to turn our left flank. The brigade of Colonel Frank, occupying this position, had been overrun by the heavy force of the enemy, and the rest of the corps, before they had been assaulted, under the influence of the movement, commenced to retire without waiting to ascertain its necessity. General Hancock, with his division and brigade commanders, used their utmost to stem the current, but without success. No explanation can be given of this extraordinary affair, unless it might be that the rank and file were desirous of trying to take a new position on the Brock road on their own responsibility, instead of "hammering continually" in the dense woods.

The line of battle was now formed along the breastworks from which our advance had been made the evening before. The color-sergeants, as they arrived, placed their flags on the defenses, while the men, with faces

begrimed with powder, but showing no anxiety for the result of the coming attack, calmly fell into their places and awaited the enemy.

Soon after, the Confederate line of battle made its appearance, and firing commenced; but the attack was without any spirit, and, after a few volleys, the enemy drew back a short distance into the woods and halted. This sudden suspension of attack, as we afterwards ascertained, was caused by the severe wounding of the leader, General Longstreet.

After this there was a cessation of fighting on Hancock's front for several hours, during which regiments were re-formed and the log defenses were increased in strength. The lull was broken at four o'clock by a determined advance of the enemy. A large force pushed forward to assault the Second Corps line, but halted when within a hundred yards of the defenses, and began a continuous fire of musketry. Our men were but little exposed, and their position gave them an opportunity to repay the severe handling they had received in the early morning. Just as the Confederates were beginning to fall back from the effect of the volleys they were receiving, a circumstance occurred that for the moment threw a portion of the Second Corps into confusion. The woods on the left of our front caught fire, and the flames spread so rapidly that the breastworks were soon enveloped, the heat becoming so intense that the men were driven from the line. The enemy took advantage of this and pressed forward to the defenses, a few of the leaders advancing beyond them, firing on the troops that had fled. This success was of short duration, and was soon overcome by a charge of the Second Division,

in which the Confederates were rapidly sent back into the forest.

This closed the fighting for the day upon the front of the Second Corps, and, with the exception of an attack a little later on the right flank of the Sixth Corps, near the turnpike, ended the battle of the Wilderness.

During these terrible battles, fought in the midst of dense woods, there was but little opportunity for any manœuvres, except the one indicated by the order, "Forward; attack in line!" The batteries were generally parked in the rear of the corps to which they belonged, only an occasional section of artillery having an opportunity of engaging to advantage in the contest. The Confederates made use of one or two guns on the plank road, and dropped a few shells among the mass of troops during the retreat, but the line of fire was easily avoided, and did no great damage. Cavalry were of course entirely out of the question, and were stationed on the flank and rear of the army.

The Union loss in these actions was estimated to exceed fifteen thousand men, while the Confederate casualties were as heavy in proportion to the number of troops engaged.

The Philadelphia Brigade suffered severely, but the actual loss in this, as in other battles of Grant's campaign, can never be ascertained. Among the officers the following casualties were reported, in addition to those already mentioned: Captains R. L. R. Shreeve, Seventy-Second, and W. W. Hulser, One Hundred and Fifty-Second New York, killed. The following officers were wounded: Captains Thomas J. Rorer, John Lockhart, and Robert Stewart, Seventy-Second, and William

M. Smith, Seventy-First; and Lieutenants Frederick Coppes, Philip Grey, T. J. Longacre, Seventy-Second; John C. Freeman and Stephen Holden, One Hundred and Fifty-Second New York, and William McDaid, Seventy-First.

Saturday, May 7th, was passed by both armies in their intrenched or partly fortified positions, neither of them willing to advance, and both anxious to be attacked. Early in the day strong skirmish lines were moved forward for the purpose of discovering the Confederate position, but there was no attempt on the part of Grant to resume the contest. On the left flank, near Todd's Tavern, there was a severe cavalry fight, but without any decided success for either force.

It soon became apparent to the most ordinary observer that the position occupied by the Union army must be speedily abandoned, but much uncertainty existed among the troops as to whether the next move would be forward or in retreat. While the great mass of veterans were lying along their breastworks awaiting orders, many of them were occupied in discussing amusing theories of action. Some of these men, probably influenced by memories of the past, suggested that "after the results of the past three days," some of the previous commanders of the Army of the Potomac would have decided to recross the Rapidan to their old position, grant furloughs to a large number of the men, and, after forwarding to Washington extensive requisitions for clothing and supplies, await reinforcements before the next move. A few of these unauthorized critics also thought it equally probable that some of the old commanders would have tried to manœuvre to avoid a fight

under circumstances so unfavorable. The present commander, although disappointed in his first effort, adhered to his original plan of campaign and resolved to continue on the same line. During the day the army was ordered to be ready at dark to continue the advance and move towards Spottsylvania Court-House.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT-HOUSE.

WHILE the army remained in position on the battlefield of the Wilderness, the dead lying within the lines were buried as well as the nature of the ground and the circumstances would permit. At the best, the work was very imperfectly done, and hundreds of comrades with blankets or shelter-tents for winding-sheets were placed in shallow trenches scarcely deep enough to cover their remains. There was a large number of bodies lying on our front, or between the skirmish lines, that could not be reached, and some of these, it is more than probable, were thus exposed long after the army had moved away.

The multitudes of wounded required the utmost exertions of the surgeons and the ambulance corps to properly care for them, and to furnish necessary transportation to the rear. In this work they were materially assisted by the Sanitary Commission, under the direction of J. Warner Johnson. The first train of ambulances was started to the rear, with orders to recross the Rapidan and move towards the railroad station, near the old camping-ground. The recrossing had scarcely commenced when the ambulances were fired into by the partisan rangers belonging to White's cavalry, and compelled to return to the field hospitals near the Wilderness Tavern.

By this time there was a train of wounded awaiting transportation miles in length. After much delay a cavalry scout ascertained that the road to Fredericksburg was clear, when the wagons again started with their freight of human suffering. On approaching the city it was found that the armed citizens, under direction of the mayor, were disposed to offer resistance. This was soon overcome, and after a short delay a portion of the wounded of the Second Division were sent forward to Aquia Creek, but without an escort. This risk proved unfortunate in its results. The ambulances were again attacked, and Lieutenant Bond, adjutant of the Twentieth Massachusetts, was killed, and Captain Cooper, of General Webb's staff, received an additional wound.

Soldiers act intuitively, and the fate of the wounded, and especially the dead, of this campaign, created apprehensions in the minds of many that were not without their influence. The ideal soldier of the age of chivalry has no successor in the American volunteer. The former might have been indifferent to suffering, or might have failed to anticipate Christian burial, but the latter is strengthened for the conflict by the knowledge that sympathizing friends will care for him if wounded, or bestow the last rites if he falls in the conflict.

On the afternoon of May 7th the corps commanders received orders preliminary to a movement on Spottsylvania Court-House. The direct route was by the Brock road, passing Todd's Tavern. Warren was ordered to take the advance at half-past eight P.M., and the Second Corps to follow closely. The Sixth Corps, under Sedgwick, was to proceed to Chancellorsville at the same time as Warren, and there it was to be joined by the



trains of the two corps, and to move by way of Piney Branch church to Spottsylvania. The trains of the Second Corps were ordered to Chancellorsville to be held ready to move at the same hour with other trains, by way of the Furnaces, to Todd's Tavern, keeping clear of the Brock road, which was to be used by the troops.

The Fifth Corps began its movement at nine o'clock, and, after some delay at Todd's Tavern, it reached a point two miles beyond, at three A.M. on the 8th. At this point it was again detained, this time by the enemy, who had placed numerous obstructions on the road. It was not until daylight that the opposing force was driven away, and the march resumed and continued until the corps reached a clearing two miles from Spottsylvania Court-House, where a halt was made.

This place was reached at about eight P.M., and without encountering any opposition except from dismounted cavalry. After forming in line, the leading division of Robinson was ordered to advance towards the woods intervening between this cleared place and the court-house. When half-way across the field, a heavy fire was unexpectedly met, and the line was momentarily thrown into confusion, and fell back to the position from which the advance had been made. Another division of Warren's Corps that moved forward on the right of Robinson, simultaneously with him, encountered a similar obstacle, and was also compelled to retire. Immediately after these movements, attacks were made on both flanks of the enemy by Wadsworth's Division, under General Cutler, and the Pennsylvania Reserves, which were more successful. The positions gained by these flank operations were held, and the remainder of the corps formed

in line connecting with them. These positions were rapidly strengthened by intrenching.

The force that Warren had encountered proved to be Longstreet's Corps, which had left its position in the Wilderness simultaneously with the Fifth Corps, and, having no obstructions to delay its movements, had arrived at the point before our troops. This advance movement of the Confederates was speedily followed by the rest of their army.

It was near daylight on the 8th when the rear of the Fifth Corps had passed our line on the Brock road, and the way was clear for a movement. After the arrival of the Second Corps at Todd's Tavern it was halted by command of General Meade, and a force advanced as a defense on the Catharpen road connecting the routes on which the two armies were moving. In the afternoon the Second Division was detached from the corps and sent forward towards Spottsylvania, where it joined the Fifth Corps, already reinforced by the arrival of the Sixth. On the next day, May 9th, the rest of the corps moved forward to this point, thus bringing the entire army once more in line of battle confronting the enemy.

The left of this new line was held by Burnside, connecting on the right with Sedgwick; then came Warren, the extreme right being held by Hancock. In front of the Second Corps was the river Po, a small stream flowing through a deep valley running nearly eastward from our position.

The morning was taken up in making dispositions, and, with the exception of the frequent discharge of sharp-shooters' rifles, it was comparatively quiet. This practice was made use of very extensively in this and

subsequent campaigns by both armies, often inflicting severe losses. Among those who fell this day was Major-General Sedgwick, whose death was universally lamented. This experienced officer, known to the men of our division as their first commander in active service, and respected for his brave conduct on the battle-field, was instantly killed while standing near the breastworks of the Sixth Corps.

During the afternoon of Monday, May 9th, Confederate wagons could be seen from our position moving along the road to Spottsylvania, and the Second Corps was directed to cross and endeavor to intercept the train. At four o'clock the small picket force of the enemy was driven away, and the command commenced crossing the river. Before this was completed, night came on and the troops bivouacked on its banks. Next morning, the 10th, a force pushed out towards the point where the wagons had been seen, only to find that the train had safely passed to the Confederate rear.

At ten A.M., May 10th, the divisions of Gibbon and Birney recrossed the Po and took up a position on a wooded ridge joining the line of the Fifth Corps. The last division of the Second Corps, under Barlow, remained over the Po until two o'clock, when it was also ordered to withdraw. Just as the movement began it was heavily attacked by the enemy, but met the charge with so much spirit that the Confederates were kept at bay. While this severe contest was at its height, the woods in the rear of Barlow's men, between them and the river, caught fire; and in the midst of the burning timbers, and under the volleys of the enemy, who were repeatedly driven back, the division recrossed the Po.

In this affair the loss was severe, and some of the wounded who fell in the burning woods perished in the flames. In retiring the artillery, one of the guns met with an accident while being run down the difficult approach to the river, and had to be abandoned. This was the first gun ever lost by the Second Corps.

The position of the enemy confronting our corps, after we had recrossed the Po and joined Warren, was the strongest point of the Confederate lines. Upon the crest of the thickly-wooded elevation of Laurel Hill they had formed earthworks, rendered almost inaccessible by an abattis of timber and sharpened branches, while the approaches were covered with artillery.

This place had been attacked by portions of the Fifth and Sixth Corps about noon, but with no success. At three o'clock a movement was ordered for the purpose of advancing the line preparatory to a general assault; this also failed. And now at four P.M. a staff-officer rode out to our position to say that the whole line would charge at five P.M., the signal to be "cheering on the left."

At the appointed hour the men moved forward from their partially-concealed places in the woods, and the moment the line entered the cleared space in front of the enemy's position, it met a fierce fire. Some portions of the corps advanced to the abattis, others halted part way and discharged a few volleys, but speedily the whole line fell back with terrible loss.

About the time of this assault, an attack was made by the Sixth Corps on the left, which was more successful, Upton's Brigade having carried the first line of the Confederate works and captured nine hundred prisoners and

several guns. This portion of the line was held until dark, when the troops, for want of support, abandoned the guns and retired to their original line.

The failure of the Second and Fifth Corps did not deter the general commanding from a renewed attempt on the same position. Accordingly, regiments had scarcely re-formed before an officer made his appearance with directions to "repeat the assault at precisely six o'clock." In spite of the horrible losses required by obedience to this command, there was an approach to the ridiculous in the manner of its communication. No officer of higher rank than a brigade commander had examined the approaches to the enemy's works on our front, and the whole expression of the person who brought the message seemed to say, "The general commanding is doubtful of your success." The moment the order was given, the messenger put spurs to his horse and rode off, lest by some misunderstanding the assault should begin before he was safe out of the range of the enemy's responsive fire.

Promptly at the appointed hour the division moved out of the woods towards the coveted works. The men had weighed the probabilities of success and decided that the attempt was hopeless. The advance along the line was made without enthusiasm, and it continued only a short distance, when a halt was made and firing commenced and continued for a brief period, when the whole force fell back as suddenly as before.

The result of this second attempt, although not attended with as heavy loss as the first, was more demoralizing. Some of the best troops of the Second Corps, the equals of any soldiers that ever carried arms, not

only retired without any real attempt to carry the enemy's works, but actually retreated in confusion to a point far to the rear of the original line, and remained there until nearly night. Brigade staff-officers who were sent to recall the scattered troops, found them gathered about their regimental flags, quietly preparing coffee and comparing experiences about the movement on Laurel Hill. In the two attacks of this day the Second and Fifth Corps lost over five thousand men, while it is probable that the enemy did not lose one thousand.

Wednesday, May 11th, the army remained in position without any fighting, except a few small affairs of the picket and the usual fusillade of the sharp-shooters.

At dark, the Second Corps was ordered to prepare for moving at a moment's notice. The men were directed to arrange their canteens and accoutrements to prevent any noise or rattling from indicating to the enemy that a movement was in progress.

At midnight the column started towards the left of the army, and at dawn of day reached a position in the rear of that occupied by the Sixth Corps, and near the Brown House. The distance marched was not over five miles, but the progress of the column was rendered difficult and slow by the darkness of the night and by obstructions in the road.

A little before five o'clock on Thursday morning, May 12th, a line of battle was formed by the entire Second Corps: Barlow's Division in two lines, each regiment doubled on the centre; Birney's Division deployed in front of Barlow; and the divisions of Mott and Gibbon on the right. The distance from the point of formation to the Confederate works was supposed to be

three-fourths of a mile, although but little was known of the exact location. In front of Barlow the ground was cleared up to the works, while that to be traversed by the Second Division was wooded, with the exception of about one hundred yards.

Immediately after the order to advance was given, the troops started at a quick pace and moved forward without cheering or firing a shot. The point of direction at the start could only be known by the compass. An advance of half a mile brought Barlow's Division within view of the earthworks at a point where they formed a salient angle. The line, as deployed, proved to be oblique to that of the enemy, bringing Barlow first to strike, then Birney, then Mott and Gibbon.

When Barlow's men came within sight of the Confederates, they took up the double-quick, and with their flags unfurled rushed up to the works, tore away the obstructions in front, and, quickly clambering over the defenses, sprang among the guns. Birney's Division and that of Mott on the right entered the works almost at the same time with Barlow.

The men of Gibbon's Division pressed forward with their comrades, and as they emerged from the woods and saw in the gray light of the morning what appeared to be a line of intrenchments, they raised a loud cheer. This unfortunately gave the enemy warning of our advance. When the division pushed forward past the mistaken line and came in front of the real point of attack, it received a severe fire of musketry and artillery. Although losing heavily while crossing the space immediately adjacent to the works, the command never faltered, but with renewed cheering carried the intrenchments on

the right of Birney, and met the enemy almost simultaneously with the rest of the corps.

There was now a hand-to-hand struggle, in which the brigade bore its full part, many of its members acting with great gallantry. One of the regimental officers, Lieutenant Charles McNally, Sixty-Ninth, after a personal encounter, in which he was injured, captured a battle-flag. This conflict at close quarters was of short duration; most of the enemy surrendered, while those who could escape fled through the woods to the next line of defense.

The result of the Second Corps' charge was the capture of nearly four thousand prisoners, composing almost an entire division of Ewell's Corps, with their commander, General Johnson. Among the trophies were eighteen guns and thirty standards.

The assault was made so quickly after the preliminary dispositions that many on both sides were unaware of its real character until it was nearly completed. Immediately in the rear of the division, and following its movements, no doubt supposing its advance was only a change of position, were some of the officers' servants. One of these men was leading an animal laden with panniers containing the mess supplies for brigade headquarters. When the artillery opened after the first cheering, a shell entered the breast of the pack animal, and, passing through, lodged in one of the baskets. The servant unfastened the halter, and, without stopping to grieve over his loss, joined the brigade and entered the works. In a short time the enterprising fellow had seized a horse belonging to the Confederate batteries, and was on his way back to transfer his load.



Some of the Confederates near the brigade at the time the works were entered, cried out, "Yanks, you have got us this time." One man who was rushing towards us fell wounded within a few feet of an officer, saying, "I am sorry you shot me; I was coming to take the oath of allegiance." Upon being told that we had no copy of that document, but could accommodate him with a little whisky instead, he replied, "That will do as well."

An attempt was made by some of the men to bring the captured guns to bear on the retreating enemy, but without much success. One patriotic Irishman, who was endeavoring to discharge a cannon with its muzzle at an elevation of forty-five degrees, was advised to depress the gun, but confidently replied, "Niver fare: it's bound to come down on somebody's head."

These episodes, with many others, occurred while the prisoners were being sent to the rear. In a brief time the mass of the corps, elated by their success, began a pursuit of the retreating Confederates towards Spottsylvania. This movement was without order or formation, and, after advancing half a mile through the woods, the second line of defense was approached, where a heavy force was encountered that speedily drove our men back towards the works they had captured.

It now became evident that the point Hancock had seized was of the greatest importance to the Confederates, as its occupation threatened to divide their army, and preparations were made to resist an attempt at recapture. Arnold's Rhode Island Battery was brought to the front and placed on the right of the line, and at the same time other batteries of the corps were put in

position near the Landrum House at our rear. At six A.M. the Sixth Corps began to arrive, and advanced to the earthworks, forming line with the Second Corps.

These movements were in progress when the enemy approached and opened the contest. The men of the Second Corps were in considerable disorder,—officers were seeking for their commands, and many of the men were gathering about color-sergeants carrying the flags of other regiments. In a moment the men rushed up to the nearest defense, closed up their ranks, and began to return the fire.

The most sanguinary and deadly fight of this campaign began at this moment. During the entire day and far into the night there was one continuous roll of musketry. Repeated charges were made by the enemy, only to be as frequently repulsed. Occasionally both Union and Confederate flags were on the breastworks at the same moment, and for the time the concentration of fire told with fearful effect. The most desperate contest was about the salient, and in front of it the sight was one of horror. Those killed in the charge at daylight lay before the works, while every repulse of the Confederates left an increased number, until bodies were lying across each other in heaps. The fire was so incessant that the dead were repeatedly struck with balls from both sides, and the wounded in many cases perished before the sun went down on the scene of blood.

At dark the assaults of Lee were over, but the firing continued from his skirmishers until near midnight. The actual loss of the brigade in this fight is unknown. In the list of casualties reported were the following

officers: Sixty-Ninth Regiment, Captain Thomas Kelly and Lieutenant Josiah Jack, killed; Captain John McHugh, Lieutenants Charles McNally and Frederick Campbell, wounded. Seventy-First, Captain Mitchell Smith, killed. One Hundred and Sixth, Lieutenant-Colonel William L. Curry, in command, mortally wounded, and Lieutenants Charles S. Schwartz and Joshua A. Gage, killed. One Hundred and Fifty-Second New York, Lieutenant G. W. Thompson, wounded.

Colonel Curry died at Washington July 7th. He had won a good reputation as a faithful and intelligent officer, and at different periods of the service had been intrusted with the command of a brigade.

At the time the Second Division encountered the enemy's fire, the loss among officers was very heavy. Brevet Major-General Alexander S. Webb, who had been transferred from the command of the Second Brigade to the First, fell in front of the Confederate works with a severe wound in the head just before the division had gained its success. Besides the One Hundred and Sixth there were several regiments of the corps that lost their commanding officers, and these casualties for a brief time impaired their efficiency. The effect of the victory, however, more than compensated for the losses sustained, and the entire army received a new impulse from the success of the Second Corps.

Immediately after this affair the following circular was ordered to be read to the troops, and, emanating from an officer who had won their respect for his soldierly qualifications, it had great influence as an incentive for future achievements:

“HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
“ May 13th, 1864.

“SOLDIERS,—The moment has arrived when your commanding general feels authorized to address you in terms of congratulation.

“For eight days and nights, almost without intermission, in rain and sunshine, you have been gallantly fighting a desperate foe in positions naturally strong, and rendered doubly so by intrenchments. You have compelled him to abandon his fortifications on the Rapidan, to retire, and attempt to stop your onward progress, and now he has abandoned the last intrenched position so tenaciously held, suffering in all a loss of eighteen guns, twenty-two colors, and eight thousand prisoners, including two general officers.

“Your heroic deeds and the noble endurance of fatigue and privation will ever be memorable.

“Let us return thanks to God for the mercy thus shown us, and ask earnestly for its continuance.

“Soldiers, your work is not over ; the enemy must be pursued, and, if possible, overcome.

“The courage and fortitude which you have displayed render your commanding general confident that your future efforts will result in success. While we mourn the loss of many gallant comrades, let us remember that the enemy must have suffered equal, if not greater, losses. We shall soon receive reinforcements which he cannot expect. Let us determine, then, to continue vigorously the work so well begun, and, under God’s blessing, in a short time the object of our labors will be accomplished.

“GEO. G. MEADE,

“Major-General Commanding.”

The remainder of the month of May was occupied in frequent movements, attacks, and skirmishes, involving fatigue and suffering that severely tried the endurance and fortitude of the soldiers.

The following extracts from a field diary, written up each day with a lead-pencil, and carried during the campaign, will recall an outline of the Second Brigade's operations immediately after the battle of Spottsylvania Court-House :

"May 13th, 14th, and 15th. The brigade changed position frequently, without any apparent object except to obey orders. There was little fighting, but continued picketing or marching from one point of the line to another. At nights we bivouacked on the field surrounded by the dead, and often drenched with rain.

"Monday, 16th. At four P.M. our division moved out to the position abandoned by the Fifth Corps, to bring in six hundred wounded men who were left in hospital. The empty wagon-train accompanying us was filled, and the expedition returned unmolested at nine P.M.

"May 17th. The corps lay back of the Landrum House all day. The men were tired and weary. At night we were ordered to prepare to retake the works captured on the 12th, which had been abandoned to the enemy. The night was spent in moving and changing positions preparatory to the assault.

"May 18th. At a quarter of five A.M. the division advanced on the Confederates, who held a line in front of the old defenses. This assault was unsuccessful; the works were too strong, and the corps, after getting

within a few paces of the enemy, fell back, losing considerably in killed and wounded. Left this front at nine P.M. for the Ny River.

“May 19th. At two o’clock A.M., arrived at the Ny. Halted during the day near Anderson’s Mills. Part of the brigade on picket duty. Ordered to march at eleven P.M. After falling into line the order was countermanded.”

This movement was delayed in consequence of an attack by the enemy during the day on the right of our army. Ewell’s Corps crossed the Ny above the right flank, and, pushing forward to the Fredericksburg road, seized an ammunition-train; but was handsomely repulsed, losing a number killed and wounded, besides several hundred prisoners.

“May 20th. At half-past eleven, started on the road to Massaponox church.

“May 21st. After marching all the preceding night, crossed the Mattaponi, near Milford, at eleven A.M., and formed line of battle.

“May 23d. After remaining in position near the river until seven A.M. to-day, started *via* Chesterfield to the North Anna River. Arrived at three P.M., and met the skirmishers of the enemy on its north side.”

At the time General Grant commenced the flank movement to the east and south of Spottsylvania, General Lee anticipated his course, and at once put his forces on the march, by parallel roads, to intercept the Union advance. Having the best and most direct route from his position at Spottsylvania to the next line of defense, the Confederate general was able to anticipate

Grant's movements, and again intervene between his columns and Richmond. Upon our arrival near the point at which the telegraph-road from Fredericksburg to Richmond crosses the stream, we found the enemy, in large force, prepared to resist the passage.

## CHAPTER XX.

### NORTH ANNA.

AFTER leaving Spottsylvania the route of the Second Corps lay, for the most part, through a fertile country that had not been disturbed by the tread of hostile armies. The farm-buildings were generally well constructed, and the mansions, in many instances, were supplied with the luxuries as well as the comforts of life. One of these homesteads, near a position occupied by the brigade, gave evidence in its collection of articles of *vertu*, and in its well-supplied wine-cellar, that there were in this part of Virginia citizens whose means permitted the gratification of a cultivated and luxurious taste.

The change of scene from the wilds of Chancellorsville and Spottsylvania to the green fields, and farms stocked with sheep and fine cattle, that gave beauty to this locality, was gratifying to the soldiers, who, it is probable, to as great a degree were distasteful to the inhabitants. Although the latter were not disturbed in their persons, they nevertheless suffered great inconvenience and loss of property from the military operations of the Union advance. One of the chief annoyances was the destruction caused by the preparation of temporary defenses.



Experience had impressed on the veterans of both armies the great importance of adding to the strength of positions by constructing rifle-pits, earthworks, and other defenses. The men had so frequently found the advantage of these constructions that their erection seldom needed the order of the commanding general. When the enemy were in front and an attack was probable, rifle-pits were dug as soon as a halt was made, oftentimes before the soldiers had partaken of their hard-tack and coffee. To assist in this work the ammunition-wagons of each division carried intrenching tools and axes; but in an emergency the men did not await the arrival of these implements, using instead their bayonets or tools carried by the pioneers, and in advanced positions, in the absence of these, even pieces of wood and tin-cups were employed to scoop out covers for the skirmishers.

There are numerous monuments of military enterprise still existing in the theatre of army operations, and their erection entailed considerable loss, especially near the North Anna, where the cultivated land was of more value than the Wilderness forests or the Chickahominy swamps. On one occasion the division formed in line of battle on a farm that was under high cultivation, and the men worked industriously for hours, until a continuous ditch of several feet in depth extended through the centre, dividing it into equal sections. To strengthen this rifle-pit the log slave-huts and outbuildings were torn down and laid along the top of the embankment. The work was scarcely completed when it was ascertained that the enemy had changed his front, rendering it necessary to form a line of defense crossing

the first at right angles. As soon as the brigades took new positions, work was begun on another rifle-pit of the same character. After working for several hours, the scouts reported that the enemy had left, and the division marched off, leaving the astonished planter in possession of a farm literally crossed with ditches. Operations of this character were frequently repeated, and these field-works, aside from the destruction of buildings and valuable fruit-trees cut down for obstructions, often cost heavy expense and labor to repair their damages.

Notwithstanding the peculiar hardships of this campaign, its continuous fighting, marching, and intrenching, the *morale* of the men was so far wonderfully preserved. There was some straggling and skulking, but it was principally among the substitutes and drafted men. To remedy these evils severe orders were issued, and in several cases those found guilty, after trial by drumhead courts-martial, were punished with death. As will be seen by the following circular, the proceedings in the trials by courts-martial were exceedingly brief, and the sentences were quickly executed :

“HEADQUARTERS, SECOND DIVISION,

“ May 19th, 1864.

“CIRCULAR TO COURTS-MARTIAL.

“In the trial of stragglers as directed by circular orders from headquarters, Second Corps, May 17th, 1864, the proceedings will be of the most summary character, the main point being to establish the guilt of the accused. Testimony will be taken as usual, but no record need be kept of it. The charge, pleas, finding, and sentence, will be duly recorded and signed.

“The fact that a man is sent back under guard to

his regiment after a battle, and is unable to show any authority for his absence, ought to be sufficient for his conviction; and it is recommended to courts-martial to inflict in every clear case the penalty of death, in order to save life and maintain the efficiency of the army.

“JOHN GIBBON,  
“Brigadier-General Volunteers,  
“Commanding Division.”

One of the cases tried under the instructions of General Gibbon was that of a young man belonging to the First Brigade. He had been convicted and sentenced for an infraction of military law previously, but upon the urgent solicitation of his mother he had received a pardon from President Lincoln.

The court-martial met on the edge of the woods near the headquarters of the division, at three o'clock in the afternoon of May 19th. After a brief session, the prisoner was found guilty, and the report of the trial was forwarded through the usual channels to the headquarters of the army.

The following abstract of these proceedings will show the prompt action taken by the military authorities in this and in a number of similar cases :

“HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
“May 19th, 1864.

“GENERAL COURT-MARTIAL ORDER No. —

“Before a general court-martial, convened in Second Division, Second Corps, in pursuance of special orders from these headquarters of May 19th, 1864, was arraigned and tried private —, on the following charge and specifications :

“Charge. Deserting the colors of the regiment in the face of the enemy.

“Specification 1st. In this, that private —— did desert his post and the colors of his regiment while engaged with the enemy in the Wilderness, at or near Chancellorsville, Virginia, on or about May 7th, 1864.

“Specification 2d. In this, that the said private —— did desert his colors while the regiment was going into action at or near Spottsylvania Court-House, on or about the 10th day of May, 1864. To which charge and specifications the accused pleaded not guilty.

“Finding. 1st Specification : not guilty. 2d Specification : guilty. Charge : guilty. Sentence : to be shot to death with musketry at such time and place as the commanding general may direct, two-thirds of the members concurring therein.

“The proceedings of the general court-martial in the foregoing case having been approved by the proper authorities and transmitted to the general commanding, the following are the orders thereon. The proceedings in the case of private —— are approved ; the sentence will be carried into effect in presence of so much of the division to which the prisoner belongs as can be properly assembled at seven A.M., May 20th, 1864, or as soon after as practicable.

“The major-general commanding is determined to exercise the utmost rigor of the law in punishing those cowards who disgrace their colors by basely deserting them in the presence of the enemy.

“By command of Major-General MEADE.

“S. WILLIAMS, A. A. G.”

The behavior of this prisoner at his death-scene seemed to give a denial to the specifications against him. He walked unsupported in front of the firing party to the place appointed for the execution, and stood with his back to the grave and his face to the provost guard. When the order to fire was given, he exclaimed,—“Oh, my poor mother!” and fell, an example of military severity.

Whether the effect of an execution for an alleged physical or moral weakness of this character is beneficial to the service, or at least is necessary to the preservation of discipline, is a disputed point. As in one instance already alluded to in these pages, a soldier may act with questionable courage on one occasion and redeem himself on another. While there are crimes in the army that appear to merit death, the failure to perform duties from want of courage, however detestable the offense, is one that could be held up to scorn very effectually by the continued existence of the culprit in some position of disgrace, which would at the same time give the offender an opportunity to recover his reputation on some future occasion.

At the time the left column under Hancock reached the North Anna, the right under Warren struck the river about four miles higher up, at a point called Jericho Ford. This place was found unoccupied by the enemy, and Bartlett's Brigade was ordered to cross at once and form a line of battle to cover the building of a ponton bridge. The men of this advance plunged into the water, and although the ford was waist deep and the banks quite precipitous, a landing was speedily effected. In a short time after this the bridge was completed, and

the entire corps crossed at about three P.M., and began to intrench a short distance from the river-bank. Late in the afternoon and before the defenses were completed, a heavy force of the enemy made an attack on the corps. This assault was so spirited on the part of the Confederates that one of Warren's divisions was for a few moments thrown into confusion, but the ground lost was recovered and the line restored by the gallantry of Bartlett's Brigade, and especially by the conduct of the Eighty-Third Pennsylvania. Immediately after this action, which lasted for an hour, the enemy were repulsed at all points and retired into the woods in front, leaving one thousand prisoners in the hands of the Fifth Corps.

The state of affairs at the location the Second Corps had selected, as already stated, was of a different character from that at Warren's. In our front we met the Confederate skirmishers on the north bank, and found that the river could only be reached by driving them away, and also by obtaining possession of the earthworks that had been erected to defend the bridge. Skirmishers were deployed, and after a sharp contest the enemy were forced into their works. Artillery was now placed in position to cover the movement of Birney's Division, which had been selected to make an assault. Just before dark the order was given, and the troops rushed forward under a heavy fire, captured the works after a brief struggle, and the approach to the river was cleared. During the night strong picket details were made, and all attempts of the enemy to burn the bridge were defeated.

The corps batteries rendered material assistance in this affair by engaging those of the enemy, and suffered

some loss in the action. This branch of the service was sometimes exposed to unusual annoyances in this campaign from the Indian practice, adopted by the enemy's sharp-shooters, of crawling as near as possible to the guns and picking off the men and horses. At one point near the brigade a section of artillery was going into position, when it was found that it could only be of service after our skirmishers had advanced the line. Some of the wounded artillerymen were struck with barbarous missiles, called explosive bullets. These messengers of death were of a conical shape, and contained a small copper shell arranged on the principle of a fuse, and calculated to explode a short time after it had left the rifle. One of these entered the breast of an artilleryman belonging to a battery which the brigade was supporting, and the man had scarcely cried out to a comrade, "I am shot," before the murderous ball exploded in his body, producing terrible laceration.

On the morning after the assault, May 24th, the Confederates retired from the defenses that confronted the bridge on the south bank, to a line resting on the river, and extending in an oblique direction towards Hanover Junction. The skirmishers of the Second Corps crossed early in the day, followed by the entire corps. The Philadelphia Brigade passed over at eleven A.M., along with the Second Division. After severe skirmishing, the corps confronted the new position of the enemy and began as usual to intrench.

At the time Hancock advanced, the Sixth Corps also crossed and joined Warren. The Confederate position in front of the right column of the Fifth and Sixth Corps was also formed in a line; running oblique from

the river it extended to the Little River, and rested on its bank. The position of Lee was formed into a wedge, the broad part at the Virginia Central road, which tapered towards the North Anna, where it firmly rested, effectually separating the two wings of Grant's forces.

Burnside's Corps, which had remained on the north side of the river, attempted to cross at a point between Warren and Hancock, and was repulsed with considerable loss; at the same time a division of Warren, that attempted to move down the river-bank towards Hancock, met a similar fate.

During the 24th, 25th, and 26th of May, the two armies occupied this anomalous position; General Lee being able to speedily concentrate his force wherever the line was threatened, while neither wing of Grant's army could reinforce the other without making a double passage of the river. After considerable skirmishing, but without any attempt at carrying the Confederate works, General Grant resolved to withdraw on the night of the 26th to the north bank of the river.

This movement was executed by the Second Division at half-past ten P.M., without disturbance. On the morning of Friday, May 27th, at ten o'clock, the corps started from the North Anna on another flank movement towards the left. After marching until nearly midnight, we arrived within three miles of the Pamunkey River and halted.



## CHAPTER XXI.

### COLD HARBOR.

ON May 28th, at seven A.M., the Second Corps crossed the Pamunkey at Holmes's Ferry, four miles above Hanover town. In this movement from the North Anna to the eastward and south our corps had covered the rear, and upon crossing the river it joined the rest of the army, thus bringing the entire force over the Pamunkey and in connection with a new line of supplies at White House.

With the exception of changing positions, there was no movement made by the Second Corps on the 29th. It was known that Lee had left the south bank of the North Anna at the time of Grant's movement, but the new line he had adopted was only surmised.

To ascertain the position of his army, a concerted movement was ordered by each corps. At four A.M. on the 30th the Second Corps started on this errand towards the Totopotomoy. The Fifth Corps at the same time advanced towards Shady Grove church, and the Ninth Corps, under Burnside, was placed in a position to support either the Second or Fifth. The Sixth Corps, under General Wright, the successor of the lamented Sedgwick, moved around the left flank of Lee's army, and succeeded in reaching Hanover Court-House.

Hancock and Warren did not meet with the success in their movements that attended Wright's Corps. The enemy were encountered in heavy force by the Second Corps on the south bank of the Tolopotomoy, and Ewell's Corps confronted General Warren at Shady Grove.

The afternoon of our arrival was occupied in driving the advanced skirmishers into and over the Tolopotomoy. At eight A.M., May 31st, the brigade crossed it, and acted with the division in skirmishing throughout the entire day. The south bank of the river arose gradually for half a mile, and was covered with trees and underbrush. This ascent led up to a piece of table-land, under cultivation, and was bordered on the south with a forest, on the edge of which the enemy had erected strong works, cutting down the trees immediately in front to form an abattis.

The place we occupied was almost impracticable for the use of artillery, and it was only by bush-fighting and an occasional volley that the line was advanced to the open field late in the day and the enemy pushed into their works. During the following morning, June 1st, the firing was confined entirely to sharp-shooters, but it was very destructive to our pickets, and to the officers whose duties compelled them to be exposed.

In front of the brigade and just beyond the skirmish line there stood an old building, apparently a school-house, that afforded an excellent cover to the Confederate marksmen, whose shots from its windows and crevices interfered materially with the comfort of the command. General Owen determined to protect his men from this annoyance, and called for volunteers from the brigade to destroy the building. A number

promptly responded, and with Lieutenant McNally, Sixty-Ninth, as a leader, these brave fellows rushed forward in the face of the enemy, quickly gained possession, and applied the torch. This work was thoroughly performed, but not without loss. Among those who were wounded was Denton Lindley, a private soldier of Company I, One Hundred and Sixth, who had been intrusted with the duty of carrying the burning fagots and of kindling the flames, while his comrades kept the sharp-shooters at bay with their rifles.

On the afternoon of June 1st the advanced brigade of Warren's Corps on the left near Shady Grove church was driven back by the enemy. The pursuit, however, was effectually checked and the Confederates repulsed by General Crawford's division of Pennsylvania Reserves and the brigade of Kitching. While this fight was in progress, and the artillery was booming in the distance, Gibbon's Division was ordered to make a diversion, and prevent the enemy from sending reinforcements against Warren, by attacking the force in our front.

The works to be assaulted were of considerable strength, and showed eighteen guns in position, covering the open space in front. At four P.M. the First and Second Brigades moved forward; the former deployed in line of battle on the right, the latter on the left, with a heavy line of skirmishers. As the line advanced it proved to be at an angle with the Confederate works, and in consequence of this the Thirty-Sixth Wisconsin, on the right of the First Brigade, struck the enemy before the rest of the troops were fairly under fire.

This was the first assault in which the Wisconsin

regiment took part. The command was led by Colonel Haskill, a fine officer, formerly an aid on the staff of General Gibbon. The regiment had but recently entered the service, and had joined Grant's army only a few days before arriving at the Tolopotomoy. In this charge they confirmed a conviction received from our own experience, that new troops frequently assault with more vigor than those that have been longer in the service. The latter are always more self-possessed under fire, far easier manœuvred in battle, and quickly recover from defeat; but the former are frequently filled with such enthusiasm as gives a powerful impetus to an assault. The moment Gibbon's line, led by his brigade commanders, emerged from the woods, the veterans began to calculate, as they moved forward, the possibilities of success, while the Wisconsin men only considered how they could get into the works. In either case there was no prospect of success, it being apparent as soon as we approached the works that the enemy far outnumbered the assaulting column. Those of our men who succeeded in clambering over the embankments found themselves prisoners. The rest of the command, deciding the task to be hopeless, halted within a few yards of the enemy, and, taking advantage of a slight rise in the ground, lay quiet until it was dark, when they retired to their original line. As none of our batteries had crossed the Tolopotomoy at this place, the guns of the enemy had undisturbed range, and no doubt their gunners enjoyed this "diversion" more than the men of Gibbon's Division. The casualties in this assault were not very large, and were principally among the regiments of the First Brigade.

A few hours before this attack we had another example of the enterprise and sagacity of some of the newspaper correspondents who were with the army. One of these gentlemen crossed the river in search of information, and walked out to a point near the skirmish lines, where the brigade officer was stationed. After looking at the works in front and giving us a few items of news, he was asked if he knew where this campaign would lead Grant's army. "Certainly," was the reply; "no officer has told me, but I know from orders I have overheard at army headquarters and from preparatory movements, especially in the Quartermaster's and Subsistence departments, that the army will continue swinging around the left until it crosses the James River." His surmise proved to be correct, although it seemed highly improbable at the time of its announcement.

At nine P.M. the division recrossed the Tolopotomoy, and, after marching all night, reached Cold Harbor at eight A.M., June 2d. This was an exceedingly tiresome march, and when the halt was made the men threw themselves on the ground, many of them well-nigh exhausted with fatigue and loss of rest.

The field at Cold Harbor reminded us of McClellan's battles. On the ground occupied by the brigade were strewn sabots and fragments of shells, with an occasional haversack and canteen, that told the story of one of the deadly conflicts of the Peninsular campaign.

At the time the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan, a considerable force, under General Butler, left its position at Yorktown, and, by means of transports, ascended the James River, under convoy of gun-

boats, and effected a landing at City Point and Bermuda Hundred. After an attempt to destroy the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad, followed by a series of encounters with the Confederates under Beauregard, General Butler was forced to take up a defensive position near his point of debarkation. Intrenchments were constructed, and all attempts at offensive operations were abandoned.

By order of General Grant, a column of sixteen thousand men was detached from Butler's force, and placed under command of General W. F. Smith, with orders to join the Army of the Potomac. This was effected by descending the James on transports to the York River, and thence to White House Landing on the Pamunkey. From the latter place it marched to Cold Harbor, where it met, on June 1st, the Sixth Corps, already detached from the right of the army and moved to this point.

This movement of the Sixth Corps was anticipated by Lee, who withdrew Longstreet from his left, and rapidly pushed that corps towards Cold Harbor to prevent the crossing of the Chickahominy. At four o'clock P.M. the combined corps of Smith and Wright assaulted the position held by Longstreet, in the rear of Cold Harbor, and, after a severe fight, carried the first line, capturing several hundred prisoners. An attempt to seize the second line of defense failed, and, at night, the troops of both forces lay on their arms. The two corps lost in this action over two thousand men in killed and wounded.

Upon the arrival of the Second Corps, on the morning of June 2d, it was massed in the rear of this position, still firmly held by the Sixth and General Smith's

Corps. After a short rest, the brigade relieved a portion of the line held by General Niel's Division of the Sixth Corps. Throughout the day there was heavy skirmishing, and both armies were actively engaged in preparations for the battle to control the crossings of the Chickahominy, in the vicinity of Cold Harbor.

The Army of the Potomac was formed in line with the Second Corps on the left, the Sixth Corps next, the command of General Smith next, with Warren and Burnside forming the right. The latter flank rested on the Tolopotomoy, while the left extended across the Dispatch Station road. The position of the enemy confronting this array was admirably chosen. The front of the earthworks was generally protected by swamps or felled timbers, and to defend these fortifications, by the proper disposition of troops and batteries, the Confederates had taken every advantage of the lessons of war as taught by experience.

Early in the evening a disagreeable drizzling rain set in, and the men who were not on picket duty at the front lay on the wet ground, with knapsacks or cartridge-boxes for pillows, and with their faces covered with blankets, or, in the absence of these, with their caps or with portions of garments, to prevent the pattering rain from destroying their rest. In this situation they fell asleep, in blissful ignorance of the storm of death to be encountered on the morrow.

At nine P.M. the order reached General Owen that the entire army would assault the enemy at half-past four the next morning. Regimental commanders were quietly notified to have their troops ready to move at the appointed time, the signal to be the firing of one gun from

the left. This order was communicated, and all was again as still as death, except the sleepless pickets, who were in the very front, vigilantly trying to peer through the dark shadows of the woods, or listening to catch a sound of the least movement from the enemy.

On Friday, June 3d, at about quarter to five A.M., the whole line was in motion and advancing towards the formidable positions in front. The Second Corps held the left of this line, and of its three divisions Barlow was the left, with Gibbon's Division joining on the right, while the command of Birney was held as a reserve.

The four brigades of Gibbon's Division were formed in double lines of battle, Tyler's Brigade of heavy artillery acting as infantry, on the right; the Philadelphia Brigade, under Brigadier-General J. T. Owen, on the left; the Third Brigade holding the centre, and the First Brigade, under command of Colonel H. Boyd McKeen, Eighty-First Pennsylvania, acting as reserve.

The formations just described were adhered to for the few minutes that passed while the divisions were moving to the front from their places of bivouac in the woods. The moment the troops began to pass our advanced rifle-pits, and encounter the severe fire of the enemy, the order, "Forward, to the works!" took the place of all attempts at preserving relative formation in the two lines of battle.

With this command there was a sudden rush along the whole line. Barlow's Division on the left met the Confederates in a sunken road in front of the defenses. From this they were dislodged after a severe struggle, and followed into their first line, which was captured. This success lasted but a few minutes, when the rein-



forcements of the enemy arrived in large numbers, and drove the unsupported division of Barlow out of the works.

The Second Division advanced simultaneously with Barlow, and, after passing through some woods, came to a swamp that grew wider as we approached the intrenchments. This separated the commands, and at some points interposed an impassable obstacle. The brigades of Owen and Tyler advanced close to the enemy, and a few of the men entered their works. The First Brigade divided at the head of the swamp: one portion joined Owen and Tyler; the other, led by the gallant McKeen, passed to the right and reached a point within fifty feet of the enemy. Here they lost heavily, and, being unable to advance, sheltered themselves in a hollow, where they remained during the entire day, resisting all attempts of the enemy to dislodge them.

The Philadelphia Brigade, after enduring for a short time a heavy fire from the enemy, were ordered to hold a position within seventy-five yards of the Confederate works. Taking advantage of the ground, with surprising rapidity they protected themselves with a shallow rifle-pit, using for the purpose bayonets, knives, and tin-cups. At night intrenching tools were received, and the line was properly strengthened.

The actual time that elapsed from the commencement of this assault until its failure was not over twenty minutes. In that brief period thousands of the best troops of the Army of the Potomac lay dead or dying, while a large number more were suffering with painful wounds.

This charge along the line, everywhere unsuccessful,

inflicted a loss of only a few hundreds on the Confederates.

The casualties in the Second Division numbered over sixteen hundred, and the proportion of officers was unprecedentedly large. General Tyler, commanding the Fourth Brigade, was wounded, and Colonel McKeen, leading the First Brigade, was killed. At the close of the day the last-named command had neither field or staff-officers for duty. All who had filled these positions at the time of crossing the Rapidan, or who had succeeded those who fell at the Wilderness, were either killed, wounded, or missing in action.

General Owen, who led the Philadelphia Brigade, was left with only one or two staff-officers, and with junior officers in command of his regiments. Among the regimental officers killed were Adjutant William Whildey, Sixty-Ninth, and Captain S. R. Townsend, One Hundred and Sixth. Both of these were valuable and efficient officers. Captain Frederick Boland, Seventy-Second, who was among the severely wounded, had received a previous wound at Gettysburg.

After this charge there was a brief period of comparative quiet, then the sharp-shooters on both sides took up the work of destruction. Later in the day it is reported that the assault was ordered to be renewed, and, although the command came through the usual channels, the men refused to stir. An order of this character never reached the front of the Second Division, a portion of which was still holding a position so near the enemy that communication with General Gibbon's headquarters could be made only with risk of death. This advanced line, within twenty paces of the Confederate

works, was held by the men of the First Brigade. Their leader, Colonel McKeen, lay dead beside them, and without any officer of rank other than line-officers these brave fellows maintained the honor of the Second Corps, and refused to yield. Several times during the day attempts were made by the enemy to dislodge them, and their officers could be heard urging their men to "advance and capture the few hundred Yankees;" but each assault met a deadly repulse. At dark this little band withdrew to a point on a line with the Second Brigade, and a few yards to the rear of the place they so bravely defended.

A little before dark it was evident, from the commotion among the Confederates in front of the Philadelphia Brigade, and of the brigades on the right and left, that an assault was in preparation. Soon the commands of their officers were heard, then the well-known yell, and a rush for our line. Now came our turn, but we had not the advantage of strong earthworks. The men rose in their places and poured in heavy volleys of musketry, and for a few moments there was a struggle as severe as in the morning, extending along the entire front of Hancock and Wright. It was soon over; some of the Confederates were captured, many lay killed or wounded, and the rest of the advance quickly retired to their defenses. During the night the advanced line held by the Union army was strengthened, with a determination of maintaining the position already acquired.

On June 4th, and the days immediately succeeding, there was a constant fire along the lines. The least exposure of the body was attended with wounding or death from the fire of sharp-shooters, and almost every day closed with an attack or a heavy fusillade, continuing far

into the night. A short distance in the rear of the brigade line there was a spring of cold water, the approach to which was so exposed to the fire of the enemy that it could only be reached after dark. During the entire night squads of men procured supplies of water for the ensuing day. On one occasion a man of the Seventy-Second, who had become reckless of danger, gathered a dozen canteens, and at mid-day started to the fatal spring to fill them. He had scarcely completed his self-imposed task when a bullet struck him, and he fell with his head in the water, where his body lay until night, when it was removed by his comrades.

The following extracts from the diary of Mr. Joseph R. C. Ward, a member of the One Hundred and Sixth, will give a good idea of the scenes at Cold Harbor during the remainder of the period the brigade occupied this line :

“June 4th. Engaged all the previous night in the erection of breastworks. Ten A.M., a heavy artillery fight. At dark the enemy charged our works, but were repulsed.

“June 5th. Very heavy firing all day. Any exposure of the person drew shots from a dozen rifles. Works so close to the enemy we could distinctly hear them talking and giving commands. Sharp-shooters continually picking off men. Shortly after dark another attempt to capture our works. This time the enemy tried to creep up in the darkness and use the bayonet. They were allowed to get very near, when a few volleys hastened their retreat.

“June 7th. An armistice granted for two hours to bury the dead and carry in the wounded of both sides that lay

between the works. A number of the men took advantage of the opportunity to get a bath, and some of both armies used the same spring at one time.

“June 8th. Surprised to see the armistice extend over this morning. It is a beautiful sight to see the flags of both armies planted on their intrenchments and the men in crowds on the works and in front of them conversing together. At eleven A.M. men running for their lines, and firing commenced. At twilight another artillery fight.

“June 10th. The Confederates using mortars to-day. Several of the brigade wounded, two of them mortally.

“June 11th. The First and Third Brigades relieved from the front this A.M. ; the Second still kept there.

“June 12th. After dark we took up the line of march to the left. The enemy using mortars all the evening, to which we replied with brass howitzers. Marching all night towards the Chickahominy.”

Before the brigade left Cold Harbor the term of service of the Seventy-First Regiment expired, and the command was ordered to Philadelphia to be honorably mustered out. Those among the number who had re-enlisted were assigned to duty with the Sixty-Ninth. The transfer brought the effective force of this regiment to over three hundred.

In parting with the men of the Seventy-First, their comrades of the other three regiments expressed their deep regret, and gave the cordial farewell that springs from hearts knit together by common suffering and endurance.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### PETERSBURG.

THE preliminary movements looking to the change of base to the James River were commenced soon after the battle of Cold Harbor. The right flank of the army was contracted, while the left was extended towards the lower crossings of the Chickahominy. The advance, begun on the night of the 12th, was led by Warren's Corps and a division of cavalry. This force seized Long Bridge and effected a crossing, when it was followed by the Second Corps.

At sunrise of the 13th the Second Division arrived at Radcliff's Tavern, and, after a short halt, the march was continued until the Chickahominy was reached at eleven A.M. A position was secured to cover the rear, and, after the last of the column had passed over, the division crossed and took up the bridge. After marching until six P.M., the brigade reached Charles City Court-House. At this place a temporary halt was made, when the column again pushed on, reaching the James River, below Harrison's Landing, at night.

This flank movement across the Peninsula was accomplished in two days by a march of over fifty miles, and was perfectly successful. It was one of the finest manœuvres, both in its conception and execution, that

General Grant had adopted, and the details are exceedingly interesting. For successful execution it depended not only upon the skill employed in planning, but very materially upon quick movements performed without being observed by the enemy. The duty of masking the operations was intrusted to the advance force, under General Warren. This officer, after crossing the Chickahominy, made a feint of advancing on Richmond by pushing a division out on the New Market road; at the same time he had another column driving a force of the enemy across White Oak swamp. While the Second Corps was moving towards Charles City and the James River, all the routes of approach to the line of march were carefully guarded. At daylight of the 13th it was known by General Lee that Grant had left his front, but it is more than probable that he was ignorant where the next blow would fall.

June 14th, at early dawn, the Second Corps commenced to cross the James, on steamers, from Wilcox Landing to Windmill Point. The entire day was spent in the effort. During this movement the engineers, under General Benham, were engaged in building a ponton bridge just below the point of crossing. This structure was completed at midnight, and was over two thousand feet in length. During the 15th and part of the 16th, the remainder of the army passed over to the south side of the river.

The scene on the arrival at the river, and especially during the crossing, was very picturesque. The long line of troops, with batteries of artillery followed by ammunition-trains and ambulances, with supply-wagons and sanitary stores, recalled similar scenes in this vicin-

ity two years before. The similarity did not extend, however, to the *morale* or physical appearance of the men. At the former period they were discouraged and depressed after a campaign without apparent result, and prostrated in body from the effects of the Chickahominy swamps. Now the troops appeared cheerful and full of hope for the future, giving evidence, in their bronzed faces flushed with health and in their firm step, of ability to make still greater sacrifices.

While looking on this bright picture, many in the brigade could not refrain from calling to mind comrades who were present then and absent now. Sumner and Sedgwick had passed away; Burns was transferred to the Western army; every officer that had led the regiments in the Peninsular campaign was dead or disabled; and there was scarcely a company in charge of its original officer. Soldiers who had entered the brigade as privates or non-commissioned officers had been promoted until they filled the vacant places of company officers, and in one instance that of regimental commander.

The sad thoughts brought to mind by the comparison of the brigade to-day with its condition two years ago were overshadowed by more recent events. Over one-half the command had fallen in battle since the Rapidan was crossed on May 4th, and the same proportion of losses extended to the entire army. In spite of these losses there was the feeling that the time could not be long deferred when the good cause would triumph, and the "government of the people" extend throughout the land.

With these sentiments of patriotism, the fighting



corps of Hancock took up the march, on June 15th, towards Petersburg.

While the army was making its flank movement to the river, the corps of General W. F. Smith was returned to General Butler at Bermuda Hundred. The route was similar to the one adopted on reaching Cold Harbor: to White House, and from thence by transports. Upon its arrival on the 14th, General Butler ordered an assault on Petersburg, the seizure of which was of the greatest importance to the future operations of the army. The column of attack was formed by a division of cavalry and by General Hink's command of colored troops, co-operating with Smith's Corps. The Appomattox was crossed on the night of the 14th, and on the morning of the 15th the force pushed on towards the city. After arriving in front of the works defending the place, considerable time was spent in reconnoitering, and no assault was made until seven P.M. At this hour strong lines of skirmishers advanced from each of the three divisions and carried the outer works, capturing a few hundred prisoners and several guns. Night now set in, and the troops held these captured works preparatory to further successes on the morrow.

The last of the Second Corps had crossed the James on June 15th, the day of Smith's assault. At ten A.M. the column started from Windmill Point; Birney's and Gibbon's Divisions moving on the Prince George road, and Barlow's on the old Court-House road. While on the march, at half-past five P.M. an order was received from General Grant to join Smith in front of Petersburg. The place was reached after the attack was over, and operations were suspended for the night. Gibbon's

Division was moved to the front, and it relieved Hink's colored troops, then in possession of the redoubt, which they had handsomely carried a few hours before.

After Grant had left the Chickahominy the Confederates retired on Richmond, doubtful where the next attack would be made. This uncertainty did not continue long, and as soon as General Lee ascertained the character of the movement on Petersburg he lost no time, but commenced at once to urge his troops forward to defend the threatened point. During the night the Confederate advance began to arrive in front of the works, that had been assaulted by the corps of General W. F. Smith, and a part of which was now held by the Second Division of Hancock's Corps. As fast as the troops of the enemy arrived they began to intrench, and at daylight a new line of works, connecting with those portions of the original line held at dark, confronted the Union advance.

After a brief interval the two armies were brought face to face in an entirely new locality, to grapple once more in a death-struggle. As if preparatory to the end, there was on the part of the Second Corps a series of assaults at intervals of a few hours. The renewal of the old tactics of "hammering continuously" lasted over one week, when circumstances changed this mode of warfare and inflicted a great disaster on the Second Division of Hancock's Corps, and especially on the Philadelphia Brigade. The annexed entries from a journal will show the character of these operations, although they will give but a faint conception of the severity of the work and the conditions under which it was performed.

Few of the soldiers who were present at the affair near Munson's Hill, or who witnessed the first battle in which the brigade was engaged, will fail to remember the impression produced by the sight, for the first time, of comrades dead on the field. Frequent repetitions of similar scenes wrought great changes in the tender sympathies of the men. While they still felt true sorrow at the death of comrades, they became indifferent to the terrible scenes of a battle-field. Early in the war every little skirmish or minor action was made the subject of special report or record; now, only a few lines seemed necessary to recite actions of far greater magnitude, and the brief entry, "the corps lost heavily," is made to cover the loss of hundreds of brave men. Truly an active warfare of three years had caused the veterans to realize

"That war or peace may be

As things acquainted and familiar to us."

In the absence of Generals Grant and Meade, the forces in front of Petersburg were under the command of General Hancock. This officer, realizing the importance of prompt movements, gave orders, during the night of the 15th, to Birney and Gibbon to carry the works in their front "at or before daylight" the following morning.

"June 16th. The day was ushered in by heavy skirmishing. At an early hour the skirmishers of the division advanced on those of the enemy and drove them into their works. At six A.M. an assault was attempted by the entire command. This advance was made with considerable spirit, but, except the capture of a small redoubt by Egan's Brigade of Birney's Corps, and a

trifling extension of the line, it produced no valuable result. The line as advanced was immediately strengthened by intrenchments, although the work was much impeded by a severe fire of musketry during the remainder of the day. At four P.M. another assault was ordered to be made by the Second Corps, supported by Burnside's troops, which had arrived at noon. This attack was made with great vigor, and resulted in a further and general advancement of the whole line.

"On the 17th there was a renewed assault by the two corps, in which Hancock gained an important elevation known as Hare's Hill, on which Fort Steadman was afterwards erected. Later in the day there was another attack by Burnside, in which Barlow's Division of the Second Corps participated and lost heavily.

"June 18th. The whole force was ordered under arms at two A.M. An attack was to be made at daylight along the entire front. After a severe cannonade, lasting half an hour, the advance was made at six A.M., when it was found that the enemy had abandoned his temporary line and taken up another near Petersburg. New dispositions were now made, and at noon Gibbon's Division again assaulted, but was unsuccessful. After resting a few hours the whole of the Second Corps charged at six P.M., and were again unsuccessful in gaining ground. This made the third charge for this eventful day, and it was attended with severe casualties.

"June 20th. The Second Division was relieved by a division of the Sixth Corps under General Neill.

"June 21st. The Second and Sixth Corps were marched to the left to effect a closer envelopment of Petersburg on that flank. After moving about three miles

the Second Corps formed line with the right resting on the Jerusalem plank road, which runs southward from Petersburg. At this point breastworks were thrown up in the midst of a heavy skirmish fire, which continued the entire day. On the east side of the plank road a connection was made with Griffin's Division of the Fifth Corps. During the night the Sixth Corps arrived and formed line to the left and rear of the Second.

"June 22d. Continued skirmishing all the morning, which became very heavy at three o'clock P.M. on the left."

At the point of time referred to in this diary, the Second Corps was under the command of General Birney, in the absence of General Hancock, who was in the field-hospital suffering from the effects of a wound received at Gettysburg. The remaining regiments of the Philadelphia Brigade had been assigned to the command of Colonel John Frazer, of the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania Volunteers.

At the time the heavy firing was heard on the left of the division, General Birney, in obedience to instructions, was advancing the left of his line, so as to inclose the right flank of the Confederates. This movement of the corps was intended to be a right half-wheel, the pivot of which was the Second Division. The latter command was immediately in front of the enemy, whose intrenchments were on an elevation, only separated by a thin strip of woods from Gibbon's line.

In executing this order the divisions of Barlow and Mott on the left moved forward, without reference to the Sixth Corps, and made, as they advanced, an increasing gap between that corps and the Second. The movement

was closely observed by the enemy, and they were quick to take advantage of this false position.

The division of Mott, which joined the Second Division on the left, wheeled into its place on the new alignment, and began to strengthen its position. Barlow's Division, at the same time, was executing its part of the manœuvre, when Hill's Corps, in column of brigades, pushed through the interval between the Sixth and Second Corps, and commenced a fierce attack, especially upon the latter. Barlow's Division was the first to feel the shock, and fell back in disorder, losing many prisoners. The division of Mott, on the left of Gibbon, retired almost as rapidly as Birney, leaving the left of the Second Division entirely exposed.

While this flanking operation was in progress on the left, the Confederates made several direct attacks on Gibbon's front. The last of these had just been repulsed, with considerable loss to the enemy, when the brigade received a volley from the left and rear. The surprise was perfect, and the Confederates, pushing forward, cut off the retreat of a large number of the division, and captured several regiments, almost entire, along with McKnight's battery of four guns.

The relative positions of the regiments in line, in this inglorious affair, were, beginning at the left, the One Hundred and Sixth, Sixty-Ninth, Seventy-Second. The One Hundred and Sixth was struck first, and was almost entirely captured, only one officer and twenty-eight men escaping. John Houghton, the color-sergeant, had scarcely time, after the enemy were seen, to tear the flag from the staff and conceal it in his bosom, before he was seized by a Confederate officer. Adjutant West, of the

Seventy-Second, with the color-sergeant of that regiment, brought away its colors ; and the Sixty-Ninth was equally fortunate in retaining its flag. The officers and men who escaped capture did so at the risk of their lives, by retreating along the front of the enemy, which they had faced during the entire day. The division lost in this affair seventeen hundred men, mostly prisoners.

This action on the Jerusalem plank road was the last in which the Philadelphia Brigade took part. In the beginning of the fight the position of affairs was very similar to that which threatened serious consequences, for a few moments, at the battle of Antietam. Between the two actions, however, there was this great difference : the apparent absence of skillful and efficient officers in the former, and the presence of "Old Sumner" and his subordinates at the latter.

The responsibility for this disaster ought not to be laid entirely upon the officers, as the condition of the men, for reasons already referred to, temporarily unfitted them, not only for making successful assaults, but also for presenting a vigorous defense when suddenly assailed. This want of *esprit de corps* was well described in an article published in the "Army and Navy Journal," about this period. As corroborative evidence in a matter liable to be misunderstood, the following extensive extracts will be read with interest :

"The medical and commissary department had been well conducted, but it is not too much to say that the troops were thoroughly worn out. While their spirit and enthusiasm were, and always have been, beyond all praise, the fatigue of so extraordinary a campaign had been overpowering. Officers experienced its effects as

well as men. Their conspicuous bravery had stretched out, dead or wounded, commissioned officers of all grades, not by hundreds, but by thousands, before the James River was crossed. The effect was apparent in some want of skill and experience in succeeding battles. Captains were sometimes commanding regiments, and majors brigades. The men, missing the familiar forms and voices that had led them to the charge, would complain that they had not their old officers to follow. On the other hand, more than one leader of a storming party was forced to say, as he came back from an unsuccessful attempt upon the works at Petersburg, 'My men do not charge as they did thirty days ago.' A few commanders, too, showed the fatiguing effects of the campaign by lack of health, by a lack of unity and harmony, or of alertness and skill. The last attacks on Petersburg showed clearly how the campaign was telling on men and officers, and the two achievements on the Jerusalem plank road of the 22d and 23d of June put the matter beyond all doubt. On the former occasion the gallant Second Corps, whose reputation is unexcelled, fell back, division after division, from the enemy's onset, and one of the very finest brigades in the whole army was captured, with hardly a shot fired. In our account at that time, the probable cause of the disaster was intimated. But when, in addition to this, the Vermont Brigade of the Sixth Corps was badly cut up the following day, it became clear that the rapidity of the fighting must be checked awhile. The pace was now too great. These affairs of the 22d and 23d of June were, for a considerable period, the last offensive movements of infantry in force."



## CHAPTER XXIII.

### HONORABLY DISCHARGED.

AFTER the battle on the Jerusalem plank road, June 22d, the remnant of the Philadelphia Brigade was relieved from duty at the front and marched some distance on the road towards Prince George Court-House, where a picket line was established to protect the trains from incursions by the Confederate cavalry. The short time remaining before the expiration of the term of service of the men who had not re-enlisted was spent in this and other similar duties.

On the 20th of July, 1864, the brigade was disbanded, and the recruits who had arrived since its date of muster, together with the re-enlisted veterans, were transferred to the Sixty-Ninth and the One Hundred and Eighty-Third Pennsylvania Volunteers. The last regiment was under the command of Colonel James C. Lynch, who had served three years as an officer of the One Hundred and Sixth, and for gallantry had been promoted to his present position. His command was in a good state of discipline, and acquitted itself creditably during the remainder of the war. The majority of transfers from the Seventy-Second were made to Colonel Lynch's regiment, while those from the One Hundred and Sixth and Seventy-First were assigned to the Sixty-Ninth.

These recent transfers, together with those convalescent from wounds who had returned for duty, made the Sixty-Ninth re-enlisted regiment number about three hundred men. Colonel William Davis was placed in command, and continued with the regiment until he received a wound in action, when he was succeeded by Major Tinen. The Sixty-Ninth remained with the Army of the Potomac until the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. It was present in the assaults made upon the enemy during the summer and fall of 1864, and participated in all the movements of the final campaign of the following spring. At the close of the rebellion the regiment was in the column reviewed by General Halleck at Richmond, and a few weeks later took part in the grand review of the entire army at Washington. Upon its final muster out at Philadelphia on July 1st, 1865, it returned to the authorities the State flag, along with the Irish colors, that had been carried upon many a battle-field and never disgraced. From the fact that the Sixty-Ninth was the only regiment of the brigade that re-enlisted as an entire organization, the old comrades of the other regiments took a special interest in its subsequent campaign and gave it a hearty welcome upon its return home.

The men of the Seventy-First Regiment, having completed their term of service at Cold Harbor, were returned to Philadelphia. The command was welcomed by the officers of the city government, and was tendered the honor of a public reception. It was mustered out of the service on the 2d of July, 1864. The Seventy-First had experienced what military critics would consider a great disadvantage, a frequent change of regimental

officers. Colonels Baker, Wistar, Parrish, Markoe, and others, had in turn commanded the regiment; and during the last campaign and at the final muster out it was under command of Colonel R. Penn Smith, who had been promoted from adjutant. Notwithstanding these changes the organization continued throughout its service well disciplined, and on several occasions its bearing in action won special mention from brigade commanders.

It is more difficult to ascertain the number of casualties in the Seventy-First and Seventy-Second Regiments than in either of the others, from the fact that each of these commands was originally composed of fifteen companies. When they were consolidated to the regulation number of ten companies, the old records were not preserved, and the names of many who were killed or wounded have been omitted from subsequent reports. The Seventy-First contained within its organization over twenty-two hundred men, and at its final muster out there were but one hundred and fifty-three present. The number reported as killed in battle or as having died in the service amounts to nearly three hundred. To them must be added the still larger list of those missing in action, and of those who were captured by the enemy and subsequently died of wounds and are not reported.

The Seventy-Second Regiment was relieved from duty near Petersburg on July 20th, 1864, and it proceeded by transports to Alexandria. For a short period it was encamped at the scene of its first exploits, Fort Ethan Allen, near Chain Bridge. On August 11th it was received in Philadelphia by the entire Fire Department and escorted through the city to Independence Hall,

where the men were tendered the hospitalities of the city by the mayor and other officials.

The handsome flag, "Presented to the Fire Zouaves by the Fire Department of Philadelphia," had long since been torn to fragments by hostile bullets and the rough service it had encountered. The silken remnants of this standard, with the staff shattered by a ball at Gettysburg, were returned with honor to the place from which they had been proudly borne. The stand of colors presented by the State of Pennsylvania before the Wilderness campaign was carried until the term of service expired, and after the muster out on August 24th, 1864, it was sent to the capitol at Harrisburg.

This regiment lost but one field-officer, the lamented Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Hesser, an impulsive and brave leader. Colonel Baxter participated in every action in which the regiment was engaged until he was severely wounded at the Wilderness.

The One Hundred and Sixth suffered by far the heaviest proportionate casualties in the final affair on the Jerusalem road. In the loss of its flag, there was a coincidence between the first action in which the brigade was represented and the last. At Ball's Bluff it will be remembered that the California Regiment lost its flag, while the rest of the brigade was not under fire and suffered no loss. At Petersburg the California Battalion was absent, and the remaining regiments suffered heavily besides losing a standard. The men of the One Hundred and Sixth, whose term of service expired at the end of three years, were mustered out at Philadelphia on the 10th of September, 1864.

With the discharge of these men the services of the

Philadelphia Brigade as an organization ended, and nothing remained but the remembrance of its deeds and the sad memories of the comrades who had fallen. The names of the brave men who met their death in battle, or who were stricken with disease in the swamps of the Chickahominy or in the dreary marches and camps of Virginia, or who died of starvation in rebel prisons, number one-fourth of the entire command.

The record of those who died on the field of honor, or of wounds or disease while in the service, reminds us of the fearful mistake at Munson's Hill, the slaughter at Ball's Bluff, the dead at Battery Number Eight, Yorktown, those who fell at Fair Oaks and on the picket line at Garnett's Farm, Peach Orchard, Savage Station, Glendale, and Malvern Hill; of those who died of wounds or fever and were buried at Harrison's Landing, or were struck down at Second Bull Run or Antietam; it reminds us of the skirmish in Fredericksburg, and the charge on Marye's Heights, and of the roll of dead still further increased by the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Mine Run, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg.

The scenes thus revived, although associated with sadness at the loss of comrades, cannot be reviewed without the proud consciousness that the command, upon every occasion, did its whole duty, and, as an organization, reflected honor upon the city whose name it bore and the cause for which it fought.

The brigade was fortunate during most of its service in being commanded by able general officers. In the occasional absence of the commander, a field-officer would assume his position, laboring under the disadvan-

tage frequently which want of acquaintance with those under him inflicted ; but the majority of these temporary commanders had no cause to complain of want of support, or promptness in obeying orders. The effectiveness of a brigade, however, is not derived entirely from the character of its commander or of its regimental field-officers, important as those positions may be considered. A thoroughly competent brigadier may be disgraced in action through ill-disciplined troops or incompetent line-officers. After the chief of an army has brought his forces in close proximity to the enemy, questions of logistics and strategy give place temporarily to those of discipline and endurance. The utmost skill may have been displayed in moving the columns to a favorable point for attack, and yet failure may occur when success was possible, because the troops were led by incompetent line-officers.

Soldiers about their camp-fires frequently canvassed the relative merits of the officers who were educated at West Point and of those who entered the service from civil life. Without entering into a discussion of this subject, which has been considered from a variety of stand-points, it is safe to make the assertion that large numbers of civilians who accepted commissions proved themselves, after a few months' experience and study, fully equal to the duties they assumed. It is also proper to say that to the system of military instruction pursued at West Point the volunteer officers were largely indebted. The graduates of the military school were the competent instructors of those who were inexperienced in the duties of a soldier, whether that instruction was imparted by personal example or came through military text-books.

In some of the brigades there were examining boards regularly convened, for the purpose of determining the fitness of such officers as were ordered to report before them. Where this system was properly enforced, it worked advantageously in two ways. First, it gave an opportunity to get rid of incompetents legally; and secondly, it indirectly promoted the efficiency of many of the officers by a sort of compulsory study and application. Unfortunately, the action of these boards was impaired occasionally by bringing political influence to bear on them to make them reverse their decisions. There were several officers of the Second Corps, who, after being discharged upon the recommendation of these boards, were speedily recommissioned by the Governor of the State from which their regiment had enlisted. One colonel of a New York regiment, who was twice dismissed the service, returned each time with a new commission.

Next in importance to the preparation of commissioned officers, is the proper instruction of the sergeants and corporals, or, as they are called by the regulations, non-commissioned officers. In the brigade there were, at times, systems of drill and instruction, especially intended for the improvement of these soldiers, and many of them became very efficient in drill and in the performance of their duties.

The majority of the enlisted men of the Second Brigade were citizens of Philadelphia, either by birth or residence, and, as such, it was interesting to compare their ability to endure the fatigues of campaigning with their comrades from country districts. The Second Division contained regiments representing the lumber region of Maine and the farming districts of the Middle and

Western States. Observation, based on an experience of over three years of active service, favors the opinion that, circumstances being equal, the men of light physique, used to the habits of city life, can endure more continuous hardships and fatigue than men from rural districts. On the other hand, it must be said in favor of the latter that they are more quickly susceptible to the influence of proper discipline, and that they more readily obey orders.

The victories of the Army of the Potomac, however, were not won by soldiers chiefly from either town or country, nor by citizens of the East or of the West, but by men from all classes in each loyal State; and its battle-fields were stained with the blood of patriots from all sections of the North. Its legions sprung into existence at the first call of duty, and their battle-flags were held aloft until the final triumph. The glory of this army was in the fact that it successfully met and overcame the most powerful army of the rebellion.

The deeds of this magnificent force have passed into history, and the men of its brigades no longer contend against brothers in a fratricidal strife, but are peaceful citizens of a united country. To have formed part of this history, and borne a full proportion of the suffering and privation through which the victories were won, was the honor of the Philadelphia Brigade.



# ROLL OF DEAD.

## SIXTY-NINTH REGIMENT.

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Amon, James	Private	A	Died at Point Lookout, Md., Aug. 20, 1862.
Allen, Nathan	"	A	Died at Beverly, N. J., Oct. 14, 1864.
Attmore, Isaac	"	H	Died at Florence, S. C., Sept. 6, 1864.
Allen, John	"	H	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Asher, Asher	"	I	Killed near Richmond, Va., June 19, 1862.
Bushill, Edw.	Serg't	A	Died at Alexandria, Va., Nov. 7, 1864.
Bevonstead, Fred'k	Private	A	Died Aug. 6, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Berry, John	"	A	Killed near Petersburg, Va., June 16, 1864.
Bradley, Hugh	"	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Bierwirth, B. F.	Cap't	G	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Brannon, John	Private	G	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Bell, Joseph R.	"	G	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Brush, Richard	"	G	Died at Annapolis, Md., Sept. 15, 1861.
Burke, John	"	G	Died Sept. 14, of wounds received at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Boyle, Jerem'h W.	Serg't	H	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Burns, Wm. G.	"	H	Died Dec. 23, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Boyle, John F.	Private	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Branigan, Jas.	"	I	Died June 14, 1864, of wounds received at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864.
Blake, Emanuel	"	K	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 30, 1864.
Crowley, Daniel	"	A	Accidentally killed near Germantown, Pa., Dec. 1, 1863.
Coyne, Michael	Serg't	B	Died at Frederick, Md., Sept. 30, 1862, of wounds received in action.
Compton, Franklin	Private	B	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Dec. 10, 1864.
Cassidy, Patrick	"	B	Died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 4, 1863.
Coogan, Wm.	Serg't	C	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Costello, James, 2d	Private	C	Died at Bolivar Heights, Va., Oct. 17, 1862.
Conner, Bernard	"	C	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 12, 1862.
Campbell, John, 2d	"	C	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Caffery, John	"	D	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Causey, John	Serg't	E	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864.
Cummings, Henry	Private	E	Died at Philadelphia. Date unknown.

*Roll of Dead, Sixty-Ninth Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Carr, Thomas	Private	F	Died at Philadelphia, Jan. 6, 1865.
Condon, Patrick	Serg't	F	Died at Washington, D. C., Sept. 8, of wounds received at Reams Station, Va., Aug. 25, 1864.
Clark, Edw.	Private	F	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 5, 1864.
Campbell, Wm.	"	F	Died at Fredericksburg, Va., May 12, of wounds received at Spottsylvania C. H., May 11, 1864.
Collins, James	"	G	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Carr, Bernard	"	G	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Clay, James	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Coyle, James	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Carroll, Thomas	2d Lt.	H	Died at Philadelphia, June 25, 1862.
Cassiday, John	Private	H	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Colebaugh, Wm.	"	K	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Nov. 5, 1864.
Cotter, Thomas	"	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Dunn, Jas.	2d Lt.	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Donavan, Wm.	Corp'l	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Doyle, Patrick J.	Private	A	Died at Camp Observation, Md., 1862.
Dougherty, Chas.	Serg't	C	Killed accidentally near Philadelphia, Pa., Apr. 18, 1864.
Drain, James	Private	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Dimond, Peter	"	D	Killed at Mine Run, Va., Nov. 27, 1863.
Donahue, James	"	D	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Dec. 21, 1864.
Driscoll, Patrick	"	E	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Dec. 13, 1861.
Deverney, Christian	"	E	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., Aug. 7, 1862.
Dunn, John	"	F	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 25, 1864.
Deverney, Patrick	"	F	Died at Bolivar Heights, Va., Oct. 30, 1863.
Devine, Thomas	Serg't	H	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Devlin, James	Private	H	Killed at Charles City Cross-Roads, Va., June 30, 1862.
Dugan, Wm.	"	H	Died at City Point, Va., June 27, of wounds received at Petersburg, Va., June 25, 1864.
Duffy, Michael	Capt.	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Dupell, Wm.	Private	I	Died at Yorktown, Va., May 20, 1862.
Dever, Thomas C.	"	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Diviney, John	Serg't	K	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862.
Dougherty, Cone's	Private	K	Died at Philadelphia, July 1, 1864.
Eckart, John	"	A	Died at Salisbury, N. C., Oct. 28, 1864.
Elliott, James	"	D	Died at Andersonville, Ga., July 2, 1864.
Edwards, James	"	F	Died Sept. 24, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Flanigan, James	"	A	Died at Alexandria, Va., Apr. 26, 1862.
Fitzpatrick, Mark	"	B	Killed at Deep Bottom, Va., Aug. 24, 1864.
Farrelly, Hugh	"	C	Died at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Fahry, Michael	"	C	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Finnigas, Francis	"	D	Died at Camp Observation. Date unknown.
Fullerton, John	"	F	Accidentally killed at Washington, D. C., March, 1864.
Fike, Samuel	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Friel, James	"	G	Died Apr. 1, of wounds received at Hatcher's Run, Va., March 25, 1865.
Fritzimmons, John	"	I	Died at Newark, N. J., Oct. 21, 1862.
Flynn, John C.	"	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Granlees, Moses	"	A	Killed at Hatcher's Run, Va., Feb. 5, 1865.
Gorman, Milton	"	A	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 12, 1864.
Gillen, George	Serg't	B	Killed at Bailey's Cross-Roads, Va., Sept. 29, 1861.

*Roll of Dead, Sixty-Ninth Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Gallagher, John	Private	B	Killed at Charles City Cross-Roads, Va., June 30, 1862.
Gallagher, Timothy	"	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Gallen, Patrick	"	C	Died at Falmouth, Va., March 9, 1863.
Gallagher, Jerem'h	Serg't	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Greene, John	Private	D	Killed at Yorktown, Va., May 5, 1862.
Glackin, John	"	D	Killed at Chantilly, Va., Sept. 1, 1862.
Gallagher, Chas.	Serg't	F	Died—date unknown—of wounds received at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, 1864.
Gallagher, Andrew	Corp'l	G	Died at Richmond, Va. Date unknown.
Gordon, Robert	Private	G	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Nov. 4, 1864.
Gertof, Fred'k	"	G	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Garvin, Patrick	"	G	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Gillen, Cornelius	Serg't	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Gartmann, Wm.	Private	I	Died Sept. 9, 1862, of wounds received at New Market Cross-Roads, Va., June 30, 1862.
Gleeson, Frank P.	"	K	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 2, 1863, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Heally, Patrick	Serg't	A	Died at Falmouth, Va., Apr. 24, 1863.
Harvey, John, Sr.	Private	A	Died at Alexandria, Va., Oct. 15, 1863.
Harvey, John, Jr.	"	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Higgins, Patrick	"	B	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Oct. 14, 1861.
Hand, James	Serg't	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Hayes, William	Private	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Haughty, John	"	D	Died Sept. 5, 1864.
Hamilton, John	"	F	Died at Fortress Monroe, Va., July 15, 1862.
Hurley, John	"	H	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Hiskey, John	"	I	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Head, Edward	"	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Hart, Patrick	Serg't	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Haseler, James	Corp'l	K	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Hand, John	Private	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Harrington, John	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Jenkins, Chas.	"	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Judge, Thomas	"	H	Killed at Ream's Station, Va., Aug. 25, 1864.
Jack, Josiah	1st Lt.	K	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Kennedy, Cornelius	Private	B	Died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 4, 1865, of wounds received in action.
Kahill, John	Serg't	C	Died Dec. 29, 1862, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Kearney, Patrick	Corp'l	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Kelly, Richard	Private	D	Died at Fortress Monroe, Va., July, 1862.
Koch, Joseph B.	Serg't	F	Died of wounds received at Petersburg, Va., June 16, 1864.
Kearney, William	Private	F	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Feb. 19, 1862.
Kelly, Hugh	Serg't	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Kelly, Thomas	Capt.	H	Died May 18, 1864, of wounds received at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Kelly, Chas. F.	2d Lt.	H	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Kelly, Francis	Private	I	Died at Philadelphia, Pa.,—date unknown,—of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Kerns, John	"	K	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Lawler, James	"	A	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Larkins, Owen	"	B	Died June 27, 1862, of wounds received in action.

*Roll of Dead, Sixty-Ninth Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Ledger, Chas.	Private	B	Died at Glendale, Va., July 5, 1862, of wounds received in action.
Lightsinger, David	"	C	Died at Camp Curtin, Pa., March 14, 1865.
Lynch, Timothy	"	C	Died at Salisbury, N. C., Nov. 29, 1864.
Lindell, John	"	F	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Logue, Edward	"	F	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 17, 1864.
Lanaghan, Jere'h	"	G	Died. Date unknown.
Lafferty, Edward	"	I	Died at Philadelphia. Date unknown.
Louden, John F.	"	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Logan, Michael	"	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Little, George	"	K	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Oct. 15, 1864.
M'Govern, Farrell J.	Corp'l	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Morrison, Robert	Private	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Geehan, Wm.	"	A	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., March 25, 1862.
M'Shea, James F.	Serg't	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Cutcheon, David	"	B	Died May 22, 1865.
M'Fadden, Arthur	Corp'l	B	Died July 27, of wounds received at Charles City Cross-Roads, Va., June 30, 1862.
Mullins, James	Private	B	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Jan. 9, 1862.
Moyer, Andrew	"	B	Died at Andersonville, Ga., July 1864.
M'Namara, John	"	B	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Sorley, Matthew	"	B	Died Dec. 14, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
M'Gucken, And'w	"	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
M'Call, Hugh	"	B	Died at Brandy Station, Va., Apr. 28, 1864.
Monagle, Peer	Corp'l	C	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Moss, Jas.	Private	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Devitt, Hugh	"	C	Died Dec. 10, 1862, of wounds received at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Nulty, James	"	C	Died July 6, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
M'Ginley, James	2d Lt.	D	Killed at Hatcher's Run, Va., Feb. 5, 1865.
M'Hugh, Joseph	1st Lt.	D	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Cabe, Jas.	Serg't	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Cann, James	Corp'l	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Williams, John	Private	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Vay, James	"	D	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 5, 1864.
M'Claine, William	"	D	Died May 26, of wounds received at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
M'Nasly, Dennis	"	D	Killed at Yorktown, Va., Apr. 17, 1862.
M'Leaman, Hugh	"	D	Died June 15, of wounds received at Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862.
M'Mannus, Thomas	"	D	Died at Camp Observation. Date unknown.
M'Mannus, Andrew	Capt.	E	Killed near Falmouth, Va., May 27, 1863.
M'Elroy, John	Corp'l	E	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Mooney, Thomas	Private	E	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 10, 1864.
M'Elrain, John	"	E	Died Aug. 15, 1864.
M'Carson, Edward	"	E	Accidentally killed on railroad near Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 12, 1863.
Mulholland, George	Serg't	F	Died at Annapolis, Md., Nov. 19, 1863.
Mulholland, Arthur	Private	F	Died at Richmond, Va. Date unknown.
M'Cafferty, Neal	"	F	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Kormick, Stewart	"	F	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Feb. 15, 1862.
M'Kenny, John	"	F	Died at Richmond, Va., Nov. 20, 1863.
Mullen, Michael	1st Sgt.	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Cann, Edw.	Private	G	Died at Washington, D. C., Sept. 27, 1863.
M'Laughlin, James	"	G	Died at Windmill Point, Va., Feb. 1, 1863.

*Roll of Dead, Sixty-Ninth Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
M'Intyre, James	Private	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Erlane, Richard	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Donough, Daniel	"	G	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
M'Cusker, Bernard	"	G	Died at Bolivar Heights, Va., Oct. 27, 1862.
Murphy, Fred'k	Serg't	H	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 10, 1864.
Miles, Daniel	Private	H	Died Nov. 9, 1864, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Murphy, Edward	"	H	Died near Bristol, Va., Sept. 6, 1864.
Moran, Daniel	"	H	Killed at Petersburg, Va., Nov. 6, 1864.
M'Donald, Patrick	"	H	Died Jan. 7, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
M'Namara, Timothy	"	H	Killed at Charles City Cross-Roads, Va., June 30, 1862.
M'Cormick, Wm.	"	I	Died at Washington, D. C.,—date unknown,—of wounds received at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 18, 1864.
Moran, Geo. M.	"	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Dowell, Joseph	"	K	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., July or Aug., 1862.
O'Brien, Patrick	"	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
O'Brien, Wm.	"	A	Died July 19, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
O'Neill, James	"	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
O'Neil, John	Serg't	F	Died at Andersonville, Ga., June 13, 1864.
O'Brien, Andrew	Private	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
O'Connor, John	Serg't	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Ormsby, Edward	Private	I	Killed near Richmond, Va., June 18, 1862.
O'Conner, Patrick	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Parkinson, James	"	G	Burial record, Jan. 17, 1863.
Pine, Benjamin	"	I	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 16, 1864.
Porter, Robert	"	I	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Quigley, Philip	"	B	Died at Camp Parole, Md., Dec. 5, 1864.
Rittamair, Wm.	"	A	Died at Point Lookout, Md., Nov. 1, 1862.
Reilly, Terrence	"	B	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 9, 1862, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Reedy, Michael	Corp'l	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Rodman, John	Private	C	Killed at Po River, Va., May 9, 1864.
Rafferty, Patrick	"	F	Died at Richmond, Va., Oct. 15, 1863.
Robbins, Robert	"	F	Died at Alexandria, Ga., July 13, 1864.
Ryan, Thomas	"	G	Killed on picket at Fair Oaks, Va., June 19, 1862.
Rice, James	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Rohlfing, Christian	"	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Rapp, Henry	"	I	Died—date unknown—of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Sanders, Geo. C.	Mus'n	A	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Jan. 22, 1862.
Simpson, Hugh	Private	A	Died at Point Lookout, Md., Aug. 9, 1862.
Shand, Cyrus	"	A	Died at Washington, D. C., June 3, 1864.
Sharp, Wm.	"	B	Died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 15, 1862.
Sullivan, Wm.	"	B	Died near Petersburg, Va., Aug. 29, 1864.
Sauber, John D.	"	C	Died Sept. 19, of wounds received at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.
Stokes, Alex.	"	D	Died at Poolesville, Md., Apr. 3, 1862.
Smith, Peter	"	F	Died at Richmond, Va., Feb. 7, 1864.
Springfield, Morris	"	F	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 6, 1864.
Snyder, Monroe	"	G	Died November 5, 1864, of wounds received in action Oct. 27, 1864.

*Roll of Dead, Sixty-Ninth Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Sonders, Henry	Private	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Shields, Francis	"	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Sailor, S. H.	"	K	Died at Portsmouth Grove, R. I., July 26, 1862.
Titus, Wm.	"	A	Died at Andersonville, Ga., July 14, 1864.
Thackary, Sam'l	"	B	Died at Richmond, Va., Feb. 13, 1865.
Toner, Wm.	Corp'l	C	Killed at Charles City Cross-Roads, Va., June 30, 1862.
Toy, Bernard	Private	C	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Thompson, George	"	C	Died Aug. 27, of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Taggart, Hugh	"	E	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., Aug. 16, 1862.
Thompson, George C.	Capt.	F	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Taylor, C. Howard	2d Lt.	F	Died Nov. 7, 1862.
Thomas, Henry	Corp'l	F	Died at Annapolis, Md., July 11, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Todd, William	Private	H	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Thompson, F. A. B.	"	I	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 19, 1864.
Todd, Jas. H.	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Udell, George	"	A	Killed at Hatcher's Run, Va., March 25, 1865.
Vaughan, Bev'y K.	"	E	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Vondersmith, Jos. L.	Serg't	K	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 18, 1864.
Welsh, John W.	Private	B	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 8, 1864.
Waters, Bernard	1st Sgt.	C	Killed at Charles City Cross-Roads, Va., June 30, 1862.
Wilson, Hector	Private	C	Died Sept. 19, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Welsh, Michael	"	C	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 1, 1863.
Waters, Michael	"	D	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Williams, Chas.	Serg't	H	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 17, 1864.
White, Michael	Private	H	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 17, 1864.
Williams, Jas.	"	H	Died at Baltimore, Md., March 18, 1865.
Williams, Wm. I.	"	I	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., July 20, 1862.
Wollen, Joseph	"	I	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Waters, John	"	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Wallace, Wm. M.	"	K	Died March 27, of wounds received at Hatcher's Run, Va., March 25, 1865.
Webb, Joseph S.	"	K	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 30, 1864.

# ROLL OF DEAD.

## SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Booth, Harry	Private	A	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Bunn, Albert G.	Serg't	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Breen, Peter	Mus.	B	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Barns, John	Private	B	Killed at White Oak Swamp, Va., June 30, 1862.
Brown, Girard A.	"	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Brown, David Paul	"	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Beidleman, Geo. W.	"	C	Died March 14, 1864.
Batt, Joseph	"	D	Died at Harper's Ferry, Va., Nov., 1862.
Batt, William	"	D	Died at Richmond, Va., 1861.
Brown, William	"	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Booth, Wm. S.	Serg't	E	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Bushner, Chas. L.	Private	F	Died at Richmond, Va., May 15, 1864.
Black, William	Corp'l	G	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Beau, Merritt	"	G	Died at Baltimore, Md., March, 1862.
Bixler, Isaac	Private	G	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 5, 1864.
Biles, Adin W.	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Bazor, Seymour	"	I	Died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 30, 1863.
Batzel, Daniel	"	K	Killed in action, June 3, 1862.
Chorlton, John	"	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Coggsville, James	Corp'l	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Connelly, Albert	Private	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Clift, Samuel G.	"	C	Died of wounds received at Fair Oaks, Va., June 1, 1862.
Chipman, David	"	D	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Castor, John	"	D	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Castor, Henry	"	D	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov., 1862.
Conner, Patrick	"	F	Died at Richmond, Va., Jan. 23, 1861.
Clark, James	1st Lt.	G	Killed in action, May 23, 1861.
Carroll, John	Private	G	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 11, 1861.
Conroy, John	2d Lt.	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Cosgrove, Thomas	Serg't	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Coleman, Timothy	Private	K	Killed accidentally, Feb., 1862.
Duval, Hamilton	Serg't	A	Died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 9, 1862.
Daniels, Samuel B.	Private	A	Killed at Peach Orchard, Va., June 29, 1862.
Dawson, Robert	"	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Davis, Geo. W.	"	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Davis, Henry R.	"	C	Died Nov. 2, 1862.

*Roll of Dead, Seventy-First Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Dare, Sylvester O.	Private	F	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
DeYoung, Benj.	"	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Drake, Joseph	"	I	Died July 14, 1862, of wounds received in action.
Davidson, Wm. H.	"	I	Died at Newark, N. J., Sept. 12, 1862.
Devlin, Michael	"	I	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., Aug. 23, 1862.
Duross, John	Corp'l	K	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Dugan, John	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Denner, Richard	Private	K	Died January, 1862.
Dellinger, Thomas	"	K	Died at Point Lookout, Md., July 29, 1862.
Dellinger, John	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Davy, Chas.	"	K	Died April 20, 1864.
Dull, Wm. H.	Capt.	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Ernest, Geo. W.	Private	A	Died at York, Pa., Oct., 1862.
Evans, Lewis	Corp'l	D	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 27, 1862.
Edwards, Evan	Private	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Evans, Wm.	"	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Epich, Jacob	"	K	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 11, 1864.
Frinkle, Jacob	"	B	Died Oct. 1, 1862.
Fulton, John	"	D	Died Oct. 29, 1862.
Farrady, Wm.	"	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Fallows, Wm.	"	H	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Force, Thomas J.	"	H	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Galbraith, Jas.	"	A	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov., 1862.
Garritty, Jas.	"	A	Died July 18, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Gravenstein, Jas. L.	"	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Gibson, John	"	D	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., July 4, 1861.
Gallagher, Andrew	Corp'l	G	Died at Richmond, Va., April 3, 1864.
Groom, George	Private	G	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Gallagher, Jas.	"	H	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Holmes, Wm.	Serg't	A	Died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 3, 1863.
Hooper, Andrew J.	Private	A	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Hand, Thomas	"	A	Died Dec. 27, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Harris, Wm.	"	A	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 9, 1864.
Handy, David	"	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Hibbs, Benj. F.	2d Lt.	D	Died of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Hunt, Elijah R.	Corp'l	D	Died Feb. 26, 1863, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Hafer, Adam	Private	D	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., July 27, 1863.
Hartley, Richard	"	D	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862.
Huling, Jas.	"	D	Died near Brandy Station, Va., March 4, 1864.
Hafer, Samuel	"	E	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., July 7, 1862.
Harwood, Wm.	"	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Hanlon, Thomas	"	G	Killed on picket, June 8, 1862.
Hawvy, John R.	"	H	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Happerly, Stephen	"	H	Died at Richmond, Va., Dec. 7, 1863.
Hope, John	"	H	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Hirprick, George	"	H	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Hervington, A. J.	"	H	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., Aug., 1862.
Haggerty, James	Corp'l	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Hoover, George	Private	K	Died Dec., 1861.
Hill, Jesse	Corp'l	C	Died at Richmond, Va., Sept., 1863.
Irvin, Casper	Private	B	Killed at White Oak Swamp, Va., June 30, 1862.
Ingraham, Theo. R.	Corp'l	F	Died at Poolesville, Md., Dec. 1, 1861.



*Roll of Dead, Seventy-First Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Johnson, John	Private	H	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Jaggard, Charles	"	H	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Kiles, Chas.	"	B	Died at Frederick City, Md., Dec. 1, 1862.
Keller, Chas. A.	"	B	Died Dec. 23, 1861.
Knight, Harry W.	"	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Kennedy, Robert	"	E	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Kyle, Robert J.	"	E	Died at Newport News, Va., Sept. 16, 1862.
Kelly, Chas. H.	"	H	Died at Andersonville, Ga., March 1, 1861.
Kelly, Francis	"	K	Died Aug., 1862.
Kevane, Daniel	"	K	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 4, 1864.
Lane, Wm. H.	Serg't	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Lingerfelter, J. W.	Capt.	B	Killed on picket near Chain Bridge, Va., Sept. 21, 1861.
LeBold, Jacob	Serg't	B	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Lloyd, Andrew J.	Corp'l	C	Killed at Peach Orchard, Va., June 29, 1862.
Lever, George	Private	D	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 8, 1862.
Layton, Chas.	"	D	Died at New York, Oct. 18, 1862.
Leshner, Peter	"	D	Died July 8, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Logan, Charles	"	E	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Lawman, Gustavus	"	F	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 9, 1862.
Lutsey, Harrison	"	G	Died April 1, 1864.
Lacille, Lucien	1st Sgt.	H	Died June 7, 1864, of wounds received at Cold Harbor, Va.
Lowrie, Geo.	Serg't	H	Died June 5, 1864, of wounds received at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Livingstone, Robert	Private	H	Died at Richmond, Va. Date unknown.
Loveland, Albert E.	"	H	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Lusk, William	"	I	Died at Fort Hamilton, N. Y., Nov. 28, 1862.
Lawrence, Wm. H.	"	I	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., July 21, 1862.
Lynch, Thomas	Serg't	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Livzey, Edwin B.	"	I	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
M'Kimm, Wm. R.	Corp'l	A	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
M'Geaghe, Thomas	Private	A	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864.
Migent, John	"	B	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Miller, Chas.	"	B	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Cuen, William	"	B	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 19, 1862.
Matlack, Henry R.	"	C	Died Aug., 1862, of wounds received at Fair Oaks, Va.
Mullineaux, Sam'l	"	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Maxwell, Jas.	"	C	Killed on picket, June 8, 1862.
M'Erlane, Anthony	"	D	Died at Newport News, Va., Sept. 3, 1862.
M'Laughlin, C. S.	Corp'l	E	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 11, 1862.
M'Keever, Edw'd L.	Serg't	F	Died at Andersonville, Ga., April 25, 1861.
Mills, James	Private	F	Died Dec. 14, 1861.
Murphy, Samuel	"	G	Died Sept. 8, 1862.
M'Carol, James	"	G	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Moore, Maurine C.	1st Lt.	H	Killed on picket, June 8, 1862.
M'Menamin, R.	Private	H	Died at Richmond, Va., Feb., 1862.
Murray, Alex.	Serg't	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Moore, Mansfield I.	Private	I	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 3, 1864.
M'Closky, Edw.	Serg't	K	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Miller, Reuben	Private	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Mullen, Joseph	"	K	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Caffery, James	"	K	Died Aug., 1862.
M'Dermott, Andrew	"	K	Died Aug., 1862.
Nichuals, Joshua L.	"	C	Died at Richmond, Va., Dec., 1861.

*Roll of Dead, Seventy-First Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Norris, E. Carlyle	Capt.	G	Died May 1, 1863, of wounds received in action.
Nelson, James	Private	G	Died at Richmond, Va., Nov. 16, 1863.
Noble, Samuel F.	"	I	Died Oct. 8, 1862, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Otter, Wm. E.	Capt.	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
O'Donnell, Michael	Private	C	Died Oct., 1862.
Oswald, Jacob	"	G	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Peterson, Thos. J.	"	A	Died at York, Pa., Oct. 1, 1862.
Pillings, Thomas	"	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Painter, Lemuel	"	B	Died at Newport News, Va., Aug. 16, 1862.
Paist, Allan T.	Serg't	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Pratt, John M.	"	C	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Potter, Robert H.	Private	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Perkins, John J.	"	C	Died Nov. 19, 1863.
Price, Rudolph	"	D	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Parker, Thomas	"	D	Died at Brandy Station, Va., Feb. 25, 1864.
Peoples, John	"	F	Died of wounds received in action, June 15, 1864.
Phelps, Isaac	"	G	Died Oct. 27, 1862.
Pascoe, Joseph	"	H	Killed at Falls Church, Va., Sept. 29, 1861.
Payran, Joseph G.	"	H	Killed at Falls Church, Va., Sept. 29, 1861.
Peirce, George	"	H	Died June 11, 1864, of wounds received at Cold Harbor, Va.
Peters, Geo. W.	"	I	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 18, 1864.
Quinn, Thomas	"	H	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va. Date unknown.
Randell, Sewell	Corp'l	D	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Reardon, Wm. H.	Private	E	Died at Newport News, Va., Aug. 21, 1862.
Ryan, Cornelius	Serg't	G	Died at Trenton, N. J., Sept., 1863.
Reynolds, John	Private	G	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Reilly, James	"	G	Killed in action, June 9, 1862.
Ryan, Thomas	"	H	Killed at White Oak Swamp, Va., June 30, 1862.
Robertson, William	"	H	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Rudolph, Joseph R.	Serg't	I	Died at Point Lookout, Md., Oct. 10, 1862.
Rice, Henry A.	Private	I	Died at Falmouth, Va., Jan. 17, 1863.
Rave, Michael	"	I	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., Aug., 1862.
Radford, Valentine	"	K	Died May 17, 1864, of wounds received at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Steffan, John M.	Capt.	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Steinmetz, Wm. H.	Private	A	Died Aug. 3, 1863.
Smith, William	"	B	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Suydam, Henry	"	B	Died at Washington, D. C., Oct. 19, 1862.
Slater, Samuel	"	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Scott, John	"	D	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Smith, Robert	"	D	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Standing, Richard	"	D	Died at Newport News, Va., Sept. 7, 1862.
Seabury, Robert S.	Capt.	F	Killed May 7, 1864.
Schaeffer, Christ'n A.	2d Lt.	F	Died at Poolesville, Md., March 3, 1862.
Smuch, Jacob	Private	F	Killed at Peach Orchard, Va., June 28, 1862.
Smith, Philip	"	G	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Smith, Matthew	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Shubb, Godfrey	"	G	Killed at White Oak Swamp, Va., June 30, 1862.
Smith, Mitchell	Capt.	H	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Sargster, Joseph	Corp'l	H	Killed accidentally, July 4, 1861.
Stradling, M. L.	Private	H	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Sargster, Wm.	"	H	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Survey, John B.	"	H	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.

*Roll of Dead, Seventy-First Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Shultz, Wm.	Corp'l	I	Died Sept. 29, 1863, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Stockton, John	Private	I	Died. Date unknown.
Stanton, Merritt	"	K	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Stephens, Alex.	"	K	Died of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Stephens, Richard	"	K	Died Aug., 1862.
Tack, Oliver P.	"	C	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Thompson, Robert	"	C	Died Aug. 8, 1862.
Taney, Washington	"	C	Died Oct. 31, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Teese, John	Serg't	D	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 9, 1864.
Taylor, James	Corp'l	G	Killed in action, Dec. 14, 1863.
Vance, John	Private	G	Died Jan. 19, 1863.
Vonderpehr, Frank	Serg't	H	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Whitehead, Robert	Private	A	Died at Washington, D. C., Dec., 1862.
Wilson, William	2d Lt.	B	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Watrous, Wilbar F.	Serg't	B	Killed at White Oak Swamp, Va., June 30, 1862.
Wallin, Robert F.	Private	C	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Williams, Joseph D.	2d Lt.	D	Killed at Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861.
Williams, William	Private	D	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862.
Williams, Barney	"	D	Died at Richmond, Va., March 4, 1864.
Weaver, Geo.	"	F	Killed at Poolesville, Md., Dec. 6, 1861.
Walker, Robert	"	F	Died Aug. 10, 1862, of wounds received in action, June 29, 1862.
White, Joseph	"	H	Killed at Falls Church, Va., Sept. 29, 1861.
Williamson, John	"	H	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Williams, Robert	"	I	Died at Washington, D. C., Oct. 13, 1862.
Wilson, George	"	K	Died of wounds received at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Young, Wm. T.	"	C	Died April 10, 1863.
Ziegler, John C.	"	C	Died Oct. 5, 1862.

## ROLL OF DEAD.

### SEVENTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Auner, Joseph G.	Private	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Allen, Wm. H.	Corp'l	C	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., June 8, 1862.
Anderson, Geo. L.	Private	D	Died, Oct. 10, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Ash, Edwin R.	"	F	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Appel, John	"	G	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., June 25, 1864.
Aitkens, Joseph	Serg't	I	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Abrams, Geo. W.	Private	C	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Brady, John	"	D	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 1, 1864.
Brown, Robert	"	D	Died at Bolivar Heights, Va., March 21, 1862.
Borland, Joseph	"	D	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., July 24, 1864.
Ball, Samuel L.	Serg't	E	Died Sept. 25, 1862, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Bartman, Wm. H.	"	F	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Bauder, John F.	Private	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Berg, Wm. H.	"	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Briggs, Geo.	Corp'l	G	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Baker, Harry	Private	H	Died—date unknown—of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July, 1863.
Beale, Wm. A.	"	H	Killed at Falmouth, Va., Dec. 8, 1862.
Buddy, Jacob John	"	H	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Brown, Wm. H.	Corp'l	I	Died Dec. 26, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Barger, Wm.	Private	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Curnan, John	"	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Clark, Wm. W.	"	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Cresse, Wm. H.	Corp'l	B	Died at Sharpsburg, Md., July 22, 1863.
Coste, Michael	1st Lt.	C	Killed at Briscoe Station, Va., Oct. 14, 1863.
Chambers, Geo.	Serg't	C	Killed at Petersburg, June 17, 1864.
Class, Geo. W.	Private	C	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Conner, Edmund	"	D	Died Oct. 10, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Caldwell, Alfred	"	E	Died Aug. 7, 1862, of wounds received at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Collier, Edmund Y.	"	E	Died Sept. 21, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.

*Roll of Dead, Seventy-Second Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Cranston, Albert L.	Private	E	Died July 6, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July, 1863.
Campbell, Harry B.	"	E	Died Aug. 8, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July, 1863.
Clew, Samuel	"	G	Died at Falmouth, Va., Dec. 31, 1862.
Clark, James E.	"	G	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., April 21, 1863, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Campbell, Daniel	"	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Cottrell, Edwin	"	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Cavanaugh, John L.	"	K	Died July 1, of wounds received at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Cook, Wm. H.	"	K	Died Aug. 11, 1862.
Dumont, Augustus	"	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Dailey, Edw.	"	D	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., March 8, 1863.
Dungan, Albert	"	D	Died at Poolesville, Md., Oct. 18, 1861.
Devlin, Joseph	"	G	Died Nov. 17, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Dorff, Richard	"	G	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Sept. 21, 1864.
Devlin, Harry	"	H	Died at Bolivar, Va., Nov. 18, 1862.
Dunlap, Chas.	Corp'l	I	Died at Camp Observation, Md., June 10, 1862.
Dawson, Wm.	Private	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Dunkinfield, Geo.	"	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Davison, Chas.	"	I	Died at Morrisville, Va., Nov. 7, 1863.
Dotter, Albert H.	"	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Debman, Albanus	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Donaldson, Harry	Serg't	N	Died of wounds received at Fair Oaks, Va., June 27, 1862.
Edwards, William	Private	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Esler, Joseph	"	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Evans, Tyson	"	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Edgar, Gustavus	"	I	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Feb. 9, 1862.
Farren, John	"	C	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Fetters, Samuel H.	"	F	Killed at Mine Run, Va., Nov. 27, 1863.
Fox, Albert B.	Serg't	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Finecy, Wm.	"	H	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Garland, John	"	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Green, Morgan H.	Private	B	Died at Harper's Ferry, Va., Oct. 31, 1862.
Gilmour, Alfred	"	B	Died May 27, 1864.
Gallagher, Michael	"	C	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Gossman, Wm.	"	E	Died at New York City, July 16, 1862.
Granger, Chas. P.	"	E	Died at Fortress Monroe, Va., Nov. 7, 1862.
Garvin, Samuel R.	"	E	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Groves, Joseph	"	E	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 4, 1863.
Grimm, John L.	"	E	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 5, 1864.
Gibson, Jesse A.	"	E	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., March 10, 1864.
Gallagher, Daniel E.	"	F	Died of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Guinand, Virgil	"	G	Died Oct. 7, 1862.
Girard, Henry	"	G	Died at Fortress Monroe, Va., Sept. 27, 1862.
Griffith, James J.	1st Lt.	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Glenn, Jacob	2d Lt.	I	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Gray, Thomas	Private	K	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 26, 1862.
Hoffman, Geo.	Serg't	A	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Harris, Joseph K.	Private	B	Died May 27, 1864.

*Roll of Dead, Seventy-Second Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Hawkins, Henry	Private	B	Died at Convent Hospital, Md., July 20, 1863.
Hess, Geo. L.	1st Sgt.	C	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Hutterlock, John	Corp'l	C	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Harrison, Wm.	Private	C	Died Oct. 29, 1862.
Houshall, Wm. W.	Serg't	D	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Harrigan, James	Private	D	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Hesson, Bernard	"	D	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Houts, Leander	"	E	Died at Milton, Pa., Dec. 28, 1861.
Houts, Chas.	"	E	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Huntley, Louis D.	"	E	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Hemphill, David	"	E	Died Aug. 20, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Hazzard, Wm. S.	Serg't	H	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 7, 1864.
Heimer, John	Corp'l	H	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Holden, Geo. W.	Private	H	Killed at Savage Station, June 29, 1862.
Huber, Edw.	Corp'l	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Hollingsworth, J.	Private	I	Died Oct. 22, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Hubell, Edw.	"	I	Died Jan. 4, 1863, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Jones, Evan	"	A	Killed at Poolesville, Md., Sept. 8, 1861.
Johnson, John J.	"	C	Died of wounds received at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Jones, Sutton	2d Lt.	E	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Jordan, Hiram	Corp'l	G	Died at Falmouth, Va., Dec. 7, 1862.
Jacobs, Wm.	Private	I	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Johnson, David	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Keen, Moses H.	Serg't	B	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., June 20, 1862.
Kelter, Chas.	Private	B	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Kennedy, Jas.	Corp'l	F	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Krider, Edw.	Private	I	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., April 22, 1862.
Keelig, Fred'k	"	K	Died at Falmouth, Va., Feb. 5, 1863.
Kiker, Wm.	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Krein, Henry	"	E	Died at Fair Oaks, Va., July 15, 1862.
Loudenstein, Wm.	"	A	Killed at Poolesville, Md., Feb. 7, 1862.
Leeson, John G.	Corp'l	B	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Liggetts, Chas. G.	Private	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Lodge, Chas. G.	"	B	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 17, 1864.
Lambert, Thomas	"	C	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Longyear, Ernest	"	D	Died Oct. 3, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Logan, Andrew	"	G	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Laird, Howard	"	I	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Feb. 6, 1862.
Leshner, Lewis	"	I	Killed at Wilderness, May 6, 1864.
Lawton, Stephen	"	K	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Dec. 14, 1861.
Mintzer, Abraham	"	A	Died a prisoner. Date unknown.
M'Gonigle, Chas.	Capt.	B	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
M'Dowell, Alex.	Corp'l	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Massey, Augustus	Private	B	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 27, 1863.
Murphy, Chas.	"	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Morrison, Sam'l A.	"	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Murrow, Wm.	"	B	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Bride, John F.	"	B	Died at Frederick, Md., Dec. 31, 1862.
M'Farland, John P.	"	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.

*Roll of Dead, Seventy-Second Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Mellor, Fred'k	Private	C	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Mickle, Geo.	"	C	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Aleer, Philip	"	C	Died of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Callister, John S.	"	C	Died of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
M'Bride, Andrew	Capt.	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Martin, Francis	Private	D	Died Sept. 27, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Miller, Henry	"	D	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 30, 1863.
Marsh, Edw.	"	D	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
M'Cullough, Peter	"	D	Died June 30, 1862.
M'Laughlin, James	"	D	Died July 12, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Causland, John	"	D	Died July 27, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Dermott, Dennis	"	D	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Manly, Wm. H.	"	E	Died of wounds received at Fair Oaks, Va., June 27, 1862.
Mills, Alex.	"	E	Died July 9, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Donald, Wm.	"	E	Died Aug. 4, 1863, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Intosh, Alex.	"	E	Killed on Mechanicsville Road, Va., May 31, 1864.
Martin, Wm. R.	Serg't	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Mitcheson, Thomas	"	F	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., July 8, 1862.
Mackin, Peter	Corp'l	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Afee, Wm.	Private	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Myers, Frederick	Corp'l	G	Died of wounds received at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Moore, Chas.	Private	G	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 19, 1861.
M'Cullough, Hugh	"	G	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Mealey, Edw.	"	H	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Aug., 1864.
Miller, Jacob	"	I	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864.
Matz, James	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Carty, Chas.	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
M'Hugh, John	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Nicholson, Thomas	Corp'l	D	Died July 20, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Nock, Wm. H. H.	Private	D	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Neal, Joseph	"	D	Died Sept. 27, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Noble, Walter	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Neill, Albert B.	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
O'Neill, Michael	"	D	Died at Harrisburg, Pa., Sept. 5, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Peabody, A. W.	2d Lt.	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Pritchett, Joseph	Corp'l	C	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Jan. 3, 1865.
Peacock, Benj. E.	Private	C	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 24, 1864.
Place, Wm.	Serg't	E	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Parker, Geo. F.	Private	E	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 2, 1864.
Painter, Jacob M.	"	F	Killed at Spotsylvania C. H., Va., May 18, 1864.
Peifer, Geo. W.	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Pollock, Joseph	"	H	Died June 28, 1862, of wounds received at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862.

*Roll of Dead, Seventy-Second Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Quirk, Edw. M.	Private	D	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Jan. 9, 1862.
Rorer, Elwood	"	A	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Roberts, Joseph S.	"	B	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Riddell, Joseph T.	"	C	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., June 8, 1862.
Riche, John	"	C	Died at New York, June 17, 1862.
Robb, John A.	"	C	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Reiff, Jacob B.	1st Sgt.	E	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Oct. 17, 1864.
Ritter, Emelin	Private	E	Killed on picket at Fair Oaks, Va., June 8, 1862.
Roach, Thomas	"	E	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Rialle, Josiah	"	F	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862.
Roussel, Edw. G.	Capt.	G	Died Oct. 11, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Rangle, Joseph	Private	G	Died at Newport News, Va., Sept. 20, 1862.
Reid, John	"	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Rever, Jacob	"	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Rainier, Samuel	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Ritchie, Frank M.	"	K	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Supplee, Andrew C.	Capt.	A	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., July 27, 1864.
Summers, Aaron	Private	A	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Shaw, Albert J.	"	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Skelton, James R.	"	A	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Shaw, Augustus	"	A	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Shreve, Rich'd L. R.	Capt.	B	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Saylor, Theodore	Corp'l	C	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Strayline, Theodore	"	C	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Smith, Peter	Private	C	Died at Andersonville, Ga., July 31, 1864.
Smith, Thomas	"	C	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., June 8, 1862.
Senneff, Isaac	"	C	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Stroch, Andrew F.	Serg't	D	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Smith, Thomas	Private	D	Accidentally killed at Camden, N. J., Dec. 12, 1862.
Sellers, Gilbert L.	Corp'l	E	Died of wounds received on picket at Fair Oaks, Va., June 25, 1862.
Step toe, John	"	E	Died July 16, 1863, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Stainrook, David	Private	E	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Shoner, Fred'k	"	E	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Slaven, Thomas	Corp'l	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Sheridan, Albert S.	Serg't	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Stuart, Geo.	Corp'l	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Shutler, Bernard	Private	I	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Shrack, Wm. K.	"	I	Died July 5, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Seipher, Lewis	"	I	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Sparks, Richard	Serg't	C	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Spoerhase, Henry	Private	G	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Taylor, Ayres	"	B	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Travers, James	"	B	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 8, 1862.
Taylor, Chas. A.	Corp'l	C	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Tees, Peter	Private	C	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Teamer, James	"	D	Died June 14, 1862.
Weiser, Reuben	"	A	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Wills, Adon G.	Corp'l	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Wise, John W.	Private	B	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 3, 1862.
Walto, Geo. M.	"	B	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.



*Roll of Dead, Seventy-Second Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Willetts, Peter H.	Capt.	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Woods, John	Private	C	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., July, 1862.
Wright, John P.	"	D	Died June 30, 1862.
Wray, Thomas C.	Corp'l	E	Died at Lynchburg, Va., July 26, 1864.
Wood, James	Private	E	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., March 27, 1863.
Wolf, Frederick	"	E	Died July 22, 1862, of wounds received at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862.
Walbert, Frank	"	F	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Wirth, Fred'k	"	G	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 3, 1862.
Wells, Chas. B.	"	H	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.

# ROLL OF DEAD.

## ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH REGIMENT.

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Allen, Richard S.	Private	B	Died Dec. 26, 1861.
Armstrong, S. K.	"	D	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Allen, Wm.	"	G	Died at Washington, D. C., Oct. 25, 1862.
Anderson, John	"	H	Died at Camp Observation, Md., Feb. 12, 1862.
Anderson, A.	"	H	Died at Millen, Ga.
Anderson, Robert	"	H	Died.
Anderson, John R.	"	H	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Bowman, Isaac	"	A	Died at Yorktown, Va., May 25, 1862.
Beckley, Joseph	"	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Binker, James	"	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Bothwell, Alex.	"	C	Died at Yorktown, Va., Apr. 17, 1862.
Burness, James	"	E	Died at Wilmington, N. C., date unknown.
Bryan, Wm.	2d Lt.	F	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Bryan, Dawson	Private	F	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 26, 1864.
Bobb, John	"	G	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., June 28, 1862.
Bitler, Thomas	"	G	Died of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Blune, John	"	H	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Oct. 28, 1864.
Blackburn, Wm.	"	I	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Blair, Henry P.	Serg't	C	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Boustead, Thos. D.	"	H	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Sept. 11, 1864.
Barber, Geo.	Private	I	Died at Andersonville, Ga.
Chambers, Jos. A.	"	B	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Caulfield, John	"	B	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Canning, James	"	B	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Carr, Levi	"	C	Died at Newport News, Va., Aug. 17, 1862.
Comfort, Wm. H.	"	C	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Campbell, Michael	"	E	Killed at Malvern Hill, Va., July 1, 1862.
Clark, Timothy	Capt.	F	Died Sept. 19, of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Carley, John	Private	F	Died at Annapolis, Md., March 23, 1865.
Caruthers, Wm.	"	G	Died at Harper's Ferry, Va., Nov. 18, 1863.
Chacon, Alfred W.	"	B	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Sept. 4, 1864.
Carpenter, Josiah	"	H	Died at Newport News, Va., Sept. 6, 1862.
Dibble, Wm. A.	"	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Davis, Henry	"	D	Died at Point Lookout, Md., July 26, 1862.
Dawd, Thomas	"	D	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.

*Roll of Dead, One Hundred and Sixth Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Dann, Jasper N.	Private	D	Died at Newport News, Va., Sept. 22, 1862.
Dudley, Matthias	"	D	Died at Fredericksburg, Va., May 19, of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1861.
Dransfield, Reuben	Corp'l	I	Died Aug. 16, 1862.
Darragh, Henry	"	K	Died at Washington, D. C., July 14, 1861, of wounds received in action.
Diemer, Henry	Private	H	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Fesmire, John	"	A	Died at Annapolis, Md., June 22, of wounds received at Petersburg, Va., June 18, 1861.
Fitzinger, Samuel	Corp'l	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Fairchild, Wallace	Private	B	Died Dec. 31, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Foster, Daniel L.	Corp'l	D	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1861.
Fuller, Andrew J.	Private	D	Died at Falmouth, Va., Dec. 20, of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Fagan, Thomas	"	G	Killed accidentally at Camp Observation, Md., Feb. 26, 1862.
Frick, John	"	G	Died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 5, 1863.
Follet, Eugene F.	1st Lt.	I	Died at Yorktown, Va., April 19, 1862.
Frost, Martin C.	Capt.	K	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., June 8, 1862.
Finrock, Alfred	Private	K	Died at Washington, D. C., April 20, 1865.
Flannery, John	"	K	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Oct. 18, 1861.
Fairchild, W. W.	"	K	Killed June 8, 1862, at Fair Oaks, Va.
Griffith, Jesse L.	"	C	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1861.
Grover, Geo.	"	C	Died at Newport News, Va., Aug., 1863.
Gage, Joshua A.	2d Lt.	D	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1861.
Gerrity, Thos.	Private	C	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Jan. 2, 1865.
Gamble, Wm.	"	I	Died Jan. 12, 1863, at Falmouth, Va.
Gee, Richard	"	K	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 8, 1862.
Green, John	"	K	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Hickman, Chas. E.	Serg't	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Hortman, Wensil	Private	A	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Hodson, James C.	"	A	Died May 20, 1861, of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1861.
Hayburn, Samuel	Corp'l	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Hickok, Chas. H.	Serg't	C	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1861.
Haws, Wm. H.	Private	C	Died at White House, Va., May 20, 1862.
Hall, James H.	Serg't	D	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1861.
Holcomb, Ellery J.	Corp'l	D	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1861.
Harding, Wickman	Private	D	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Herrington, Henry	"	D	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1861.
Hider, Joshua M.	"	I	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Harris, John	"	K	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Oct. 19, 1861.
Humble, Jacob	"	G	Died at Salisbury, N. C., Jan. 15, 1865.
James, Samuel T.	Serg't	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Kelly, Wm.	Private	C	Died at Gettysburg, Pa., July 4, 1863.
King, Robert M.	"	D	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
King, Abram	"	D	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1861.
Kilmer, Wm. E.	"	D	Died at Milford Station, Va., May 28, 1861.
Kelly, Michael	"	E	Died. Date unknown.
Krupp, Geo.	"	G	Died at Norristown, Pa., April 13, 1862.
Kearney, Geo. O.	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Keiner, David	"	I	Died May 10, 1862.
Lukens, Chas.	"	A	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1861.
Landen, Levi S.	"	C	Died. Date unknown.
Levy, David	"	C	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Laudrus, Geo. W.	"	E	Died at Yorktown, Va., May 7, 1862.
Little, Myron T.	"	F	Died at Andersonville, Ga., June 3, 1861.

*Roll of Dead, One Hundred and Sixth Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Leggett, Walter	Private	G	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Letts, James W.	"	K	Died at Alexandria, Va., Oct. 10, 1862.
Lavaber, Martin H.	"	K	Died at Washington, D. C., Nov. 30, 1862.
Morris, Geo. W.	"	A	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 9, 1864.
M'Neal, Wm.	Corp'l	C	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Mason, Geo. G.	Private	D	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Manley, Wm. H.	"	D	Died at Washington, D. C., June 18, of wounds received at Cold Harbor, Va., June 8, 1864.
Mann, Wm.	"	E	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., July 6, 1862.
Morrell, David	"	E	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
M'Coombs, John	"	E	Died on board U. S. transports. Aug. 9, 1862.
M'Laughlin, John	"	E	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
M'Coy, Henry	Corp'l	F	Drowned in James River, July 2, 1864.
Magargle, Samuel	Serg't	G	Killed at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Muir, Wm. H.	"	G	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 13, 1864.
Martin, Wm.	Private	I	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
M'Muller, Wm.	"	I	Died at Baltimore, Md., Oct. 1862.
Morse, Andrew	"	K	Died at Harper's Ferry, Va., March 6, 1862.
Mount, James	"	K	Died at Baltimore, Md., July 23, 1862.
Mountenay, John	"	E	Died of wounds received at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Matthews, Robert	Corp'l	D	Died at Andersonville, Ga.
M'Clay, John	Private	K	Died at Baltimore, Md., Jan. 5, 1863.
Nathans, Simon	"	B	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Osler, Hugh M.	"	A	Died near Falmouth, Va., March 14, 1862.
Polen, Wm. D.	"	D	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862.
Parker, John R.	"	F	Died at Salisbury, N. C., Jan. 27, 1865.
Price, Gideon	"	H	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Sept. 30, 1864.
Paddock, Lewis	"	K	Killed at Ream's Station, Va., Aug. 25, 1864.
Page, Wm.	"	K	Died at Fortress Monroe, Va., Aug. 16, 1862.
Painter, John H.	"	C	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Pierce, John W.	"	K	Died at Harrison's Landing, Aug. 13, 1862.
Quirk, Thomas	"	K	Died at Newport News, Va., Aug. 19, 1862.
Reeder, Ambrose	"	D	Died at Turner House, Va., June 15, 1862.
Rundall, Arthur L.	"	D	Died at New York, Oct. 1, 1862.
Rice, Jacob	"	E	Died at Smoketown, Md., Oct. 10, of wounds received at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.
Ritter, Wilson	"	G	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Robbins, Geo. W.	"	G	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 21, 1864.
Richards, John	"	H	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Sept. 12, 1864.
Roe, Thomas	"	I	Died Sept. 16, 1862.
Reeber, James B.	"	F	Died at Salisbury, N. C., Jan. 27, 1865.
Robbins, J.	"	G	Died at Florence, S. C., Nov. 19, 1864.
Rodebaugh, Ellwood	"	D	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Rich, Isaac H.	"	H	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Swartz, Chas. S.	1st Lt.	A	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 12, 1864.
Smith, John W. D.	Serg't	A	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 11, 1864.
Scullen, Patrick	Private	A	Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862.
Sheak, Frederick	"	A	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Steiner, Edw.	"	A	Killed accidentally at Stevensburg, Va., Jan. 15, 1864.
Smith, Wm. H.	2d Lt.	B	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Schambacher, G. W.	Private	D	Died at New York, July 10, 1862.
Scott, Geo. D.	"	D	Died at Point Lookout, Md., Aug. 10, 1862.
Schambacher, C. F.	"	D	Died at Washington, D. C., June 24, 1863.
Shaye, Patrick	"	E	Killed at Malvern Hill, Va., July 1, 1862.
Smith, Henry	"	G	Died at New York, Dec. 1, 1862.

*Roll of Dead, One Hundred and Sixth Regiment.—Continued.*

NAME.	RANK.	Co.	REMARKS.
Schwenk, Josiah	Private	G	Died at Yorktown, Va., May, 1862.
Starr, Anthony	"	G	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Stolz, Abraham	"	G	Died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 26, 1863.
Stevenson, John	"	I	Killed at Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862.
Strohm, Joseph J. B.	Serg't	K	Killed at Hatcher's Run, Va., March 25, 1865.
Spaulding, Jas. W.	Private	K	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Scudder, Wilson J.	Corp'l	D	Died at Annapolis, Md., Sept. 24, 1864, of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 6, 1864.
Smith, Wm. H.	Private	H	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Smith, Gilbert R.	"	K	Died at Yorktown, Va., May 29, 1862.
Townsend, S. R.	Capt.	E	Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 5, 1864.
Townsend, Wm. S.	Private	G	Died at Philadelphia, Pa., May 30, of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May, 1864.
Tobin, Terrence	"	G	Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., Va., May 11, 1864.
Tebo, Lewis W.	"	K	Died at Washington, D. C., Jan. 2, 1864.
Uhjohn, Geo.	"	H	Killed at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862.
Veil, Henry C.	Serg't	D	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., Aug. 11, 1862.
Walton, David G.	Corp'l	A	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Warnock, Wm.	Private	B	Died Sept. 22, 1862, at Washington, D. C.
Webster, Geo.	"	B	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 22, 1864.
Wagh, Fred'k L.	Mus.	C	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862.
White, Roswell	Private	D	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va., June 19, 1863.
Wesely, John	"	F	Died at Annapolis, Md., Nov., 1864.
Warrington, J. H.	"	H	Died at Andersonville, Ga., Oct. 26, 1864.

THE END.

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